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Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:
<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.000063e2>

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**Initiations, interactions, cognoscenti:
social and cultural capital
in the
music festival experience**

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of
The Open University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by
Linda Jean Wilks
BA MA MSc
OU Business School
The Open University

February 2009

Abstract

This thesis explores the role of social and cultural capital in the music festival experience. It does so by gathering observations and post-festival accounts from attendees at three separate music festivals located in England. The data were analysed using Fairclough's approach to critical discourse analysis, resulting in the identification of styles and orders of discourse.

Little research, particularly of a qualitative nature, has investigated the roles of cultural taste and social inter-relationships in the music festival experience. Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and the inter-linked theory of social capital, developed with slightly different emphases by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, were selected as providing an appropriate theoretical framework. Cultural capital, particularly its component of habitus, was a useful lens for focusing on the ways in which participants' cultural tastes related to their festival experience. Social capital was useful for its orientation towards the role of social inter-relationships in the development of cultural taste and festival experience.

This thesis found that the youth years, particularly through peer influence, were a rich period for initiation into a taste for a particular genre of music. Initiation could also occur later in life. This contrasts with cultural capital theory's emphasis on early socialisation through family and school. A sense of being a member of the festival music genre's *cognoscenti* was also found to play a role in the festival experience. Participants discovered complexity in all genres of festival music, challenging the hierarchies underpinning cultural capital. Festivals were found to be sites where connections with already known associates were intensified (bonding social capital), rather than sites where enduring new connections were made (bridging social capital). This thesis critically develops approaches to social and cultural capital and suggests drivers for cultural policy.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the many people who supported me during my PhD journey.

First, thank you to my husband Chris who has always been there for me, whether discussing research perspectives, sharing the tent in the rain, or putting up with me spending yet another weekend tapping away at the computer on my ‘nearly finished’ thesis.

Thank you to my parents for their unstinting belief in me and to my Dad for his careful and helpful reading of an early draft.

Thank you to the friends who have celebrated my successes along the way and commiserated with me over my setbacks. Thanks especially to my fellow coffee-drinking PhD students who kept me going: Ann, Ting, Tom, Liz, Dannie, Ross and Dan and for the long distance encouragement from Lesley and Louise. Thanks also to Dr. Linda Ward whose own achievements inspired me to apply to do my own PhD, and for her practical help and encouragement, especially during the application stage and early stages.

Thank you also to my excellent four supervisors at The Open University for their patient advice and enthusiastic support throughout my PhD. To Kirstie Ball for her enthusiasm for the research findings and for inspiring me to get to grips with the tricky but rewarding method of critical discourse analysis. To David Wright whose solid sociological knowledge was an invaluable resource when I was assembling and attempting to make sense of my theoretical framework. To Jon Billsberry for supporting my application for the studentship, for steering me through the Masters dissertation, then sticking with me onto the PhD. To Geoff Mallory whose experience and wisdom were of benefit to us all.

I would also like to thank the three festival directors who allowed me to roam the festival venues collecting the data without which this thesis would not have been possible. I hope the results of this thesis will be useful to them. Thank you also to them for masterminding events which are so enjoyable for me and so many others to attend. Finally, thank you to all the interviewees for giving me their time and providing such valuable insights into their festival experience: without you this thesis would not have been possible.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Introduction overview

This thesis investigates the role of social and cultural capital in the music festival experience. It does so by exploring, in a rigorous, in-depth and qualitative way, attendees' views on their attendance at, and experiences of, three separate music festivals in England, featuring three different genres of music.

The research topic of this thesis is timely and relevant. Contemporary debates on social and cultural issues relating to attendance at music festivals feature within the academic domain as well as within the policy arena. This thesis aims to contribute to the academic domain by further developing the theories of social and cultural capital, and demonstrating the extent to which their associated concepts account for individuals' festival experience. Discussion of these theories, in conjunction with its findings, will also enable contributions to be made within the cultural policy arena.

In this introduction, the context of the research will be highlighted through a discussion of the key relevant policy-related debates. The importance of music festivals as a setting within which to explore the concepts will be explained. Next, the theoretical concepts of social and cultural capital, which frame the thesis, will be identified and briefly defined. The aims of the thesis will then be outlined. Finally, the methodological approach will be set out, and the structure of the thesis will be described.

1.1. Contemporary cultural policy issues

Several inter-related cultural policy issues provide the context for this thesis. These over-arching cultural policies raise issues which are relevant to a range of genres and settings, including the topic of this study. Between 2008 and 2011 Arts Council England are forecasting investment in excess of £1.6bn of public money from government and

National Lottery sources in artistic experiences, including festivals, (Arts Council England, 2008), suggesting that this is an area of major importance. The amount of funding has increased substantially over recent years. Cultural policies which are particularly relevant to this thesis include the role of the arts as an enabler of community cohesion; the supposed distinctions between the consumption of high and popular arts and the suggestion that these may be blurring; the relationships between arts attendance and education level / socio-economic level; and the attempts to encourage experimentation and audience diversification.

The government claims the potential of the arts to combat social exclusion, bridge barriers between groups and foster community cohesion (Bennett and Silva, 2006; Labour Party, 2006). The government also claims more specifically that music can enable people from different cultural backgrounds to build mutual understanding through the sharing of musical experiences (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2008b). Similarly, academics have claimed that participation in the arts can be useful for transcending social barriers (Putnam, 2000).

Arts Council England has made efforts to broaden its definition of music (Arts Council England, 2006a). The funding body declares that it employs a contemporary definition which recognises the distinctive qualities of each art form and is open to new trends in arts practices (Arts Council England, 2007). Arts Council England funded 150 music-related organizations, which it defines as diverse in genre, and provided development grants to many more in 2007.

Other policy-related debates on cultural taste include discussion on the differences between the consumption of popular culture and of the so-called high-brow arts (Carey, 2006; Collins, 2002; Jones, 1990; Smith, 1998; Willis, 1990). Smith, for example, asserts that there is artistic work of both good and bad quality in both 'high' and 'low'

cultures (Smith, 1998, p. 3), although his writing has been criticised by Carey (2006) for its underlying ideology of the supposed superiority of high art. Carey (2006) also questions the ideology that high art gives people a more superior experience than the popular arts. He claims that artistic work is not necessarily inferior just because it is more immediately approachable. Suggestions have been made that boundaries between genres of art are becoming blurred and that former classifications need to be re-thought or dispensed with altogether (Savage, 2006). Savage's research suggests that the popularity of certain classical music compositions, formerly classed as high-brow, implies that they should now be regarded as popular, for example. Festivals are one of many settings which may provide the chance for audiences to experience a range of new and established arts genres, sometimes in one location.

Cultural policies also aim to encourage people to develop interests and participate in arts genres with which they are unfamiliar (Arts Council England, 2006a; Greater London Authority, 2008; McMaster, 2008). Policies are often focused on the younger age group. These policies have been translated into planned actions. The government unveiled a scheme, funded by Arts Council England, which aims to encourage young people to experience live theatre by offering a proportion of tickets on one night per week free to anyone under 26 years old, for example (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2008a). 'Stand up for Shakespeare', the Arts Council-funded scheme run by the Royal Shakespeare Company, also targets school children by using schemes which encourage them to experience Shakespeare from a younger age (Royal Shakespeare Company, 2008). The GLA's culture strategy for London suggests that young people should be encouraged to access high culture rather than being directed towards hip-hop music (Greater London Authority, 2008). Festivals, with their range of performances in unusual spaces, appear to offer the chance for people to experiment with unfamiliar arts genres.

Government data supports a link between attendance at arts events and socio-economic group. The Department of Culture Media and Sport's Taking Part survey found that 83% of respondents within the higher managerial and professional socio-economic category reported attending at least one art event during the previous twelve months, compared with 46% of those in routine occupations (Bunting, Keaney and Godlieb, 2008). Policy-driven attempts to encourage attendance by members of lower level socio-economic groups have been made. The Arts Council-funded Royal Opera House, for example, known for its tendency to attract higher socio-economic groups, offered cut-price tickets to readers of the Sun newspaper, known for its patronage by predominantly lower socio-economic groups (Pidd, 2008). A recent commitment by the government to pilot a scheme to offer schoolchildren 'five hours of culture a week' to enable all children to engage with the arts may be interpreted as another effort to attempt to break the link between cultural consumption and social class (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2008b, p. 12).

Keaney (2008) used the Taking Part data to identify that education is also a significant factor in determining levels of attendance at arts events. People with a higher qualification level were shown, through the analysis of the Taking Part data, as being more likely to have attended an arts event in the previous year.

In summary, several cultural policy issues are relevant to the study of the music festival experience. Policies relating to community cohesion and bridge-building between individuals are the social issues which are of interest. Policies featuring the possible blurring of boundaries between high arts and popular arts and the encouragement of experimentation outside usual tastes are also of relevance. Finally, policies which attempt to diversify audiences by encouraging experimentation, particularly by young people, are also of relevance to an investigation of the features which play a role in the

music festival experience.

1.2. Why music festivals?

To render a research project feasible, it is important to set boundaries and focus on a clearly defined area (Montague et al, 2006). The arts encompass a massive range of genres and types of event: informed choices of research settings and areas are necessary in order to make a useful contribution to knowledge. The research area must provide an environment within which the features of interest may be studied. In order to make a useful contribution on several levels, it should also ideally feature an environment which is itself of significance.

Music festivals were identified as a suitable context for several reasons. The lack of research into the role of social and cultural issues in the festival experience; the recent proliferation of music festivals; the public funding on some of these festivals; the range of music genres on offer at festivals; their bounding in time and space of an audience; and the transposition of audience members from their everyday lives all make music festivals of interest as a research setting. The examination of these reasons below will provide further explanation.

First, there is little theoretically-framed research on the role of social and cultural issues in the music festival experience. Social research on music festival audiences tends to focus on measuring impact rather than on the role of social and cultural factors in the festival experience. Suggestions have been made that further insights would be welcomed (Matarasso, 1997; Quinn, 2005a; Selwood, 2006; Waterman, 1998a; Williams and Bowdin, 2007). Specifically, Waterman (1998a) suggests that the growing number of festivals and the complexity of social and cultural issues relating to them offer several much needed areas for research. Issues of elitism, the experience and consumption of culture and the symbols and transmitted meanings of festivals are all

deserving of analysis, according to Waterman.

Also focusing on areas of relevance to social and cultural issues at festivals, Larsen and O'Reilly (2005), basing their suggestions on exploratory research at a music festival in Germany, say that research is needed into how and why consumers make use of music festivals to try out new experiences, as well as issues of how festival attendees view the nature of community at festivals. Oakes (2003) recommends that further analysis of festival audiences is needed to inform arts management and sponsorship. Festivals would also be a suitable context to take forward other research suggestions for further social and cultural research, offering the chance to study activities within a defined and bounded setting.

Whilst not mentioning festivals as a specific location, Chan and Goldthorpe (2005) also confirm that more research is needed into the patterns of diversity of taste, as well as the different processes which shape these patterns, including influences such as the expression of status, education, social class and income. Also, from a more general viewpoint, McRobbie (2005) points out that social inequalities are still being actively generated through classifications of taste and she suggests that any study which takes a fresh and unbounded look at cultural taste may be helpful to further understanding the issues involved. A focus on the social and cultural features of the festival experience would therefore be valuable to help fill identified gaps in festivals-related knowledge as well as to inform more general social and cultural debates.

Secondly, there has been a vast increase in festivals in recent years, suggesting the increasing importance of the sector (Gursoy, Kim and Uysal, 2004; Hill, 2001; Quinn, 2005a). Estimates of the number of festivals held in the UK each year vary, but research for the British Arts Festivals Association (BAFA) found that there were at least 370 music festivals and 160 general arts festivals in 2006 (Sussex Arts Marketing, 2008) and

claimed that the sector was expanding rapidly. The efestivals.co.uk website lists 639 music-related festivals occurring in the UK in 2008¹. The Times reported that on one weekend in mid-July 2007, there were 24 major festivals taking place in the UK, attracting more than a million revellers (The Times, 2007).

Thirdly, many of these music festivals attract public funding, thus indicating their relevance as a setting for the examination of cultural policy issues. The British Arts Festivals Association estimated that in 2006-7 their eighty festivals attracted £5.4m in Arts Council investment as well as £4m from trusts and investments (Sussex Arts Marketing, 2008). Local authority support in funding and in kind is also often a feature of festivals. Special pots of public funding includes the £50m invested in a series of festivals in Liverpool during its year as European Capital of Culture (Boztas, 2004).

Fourthly, music festivals feature genres ranging from high arts to popular music. By aiming to study several festivals, each of which focuses on a particular genre, the chance will be gained to provide input to the high/popular arts consumption debate.

Fifthly, music festivals appear to offer attendees the chance to temporarily escape from their everyday life, giving the potential for experimentation and intensified social interaction. The tendency of music festivals to temporarily transform spaces usually used for non-festival purposes, and to offer the potential for access to the arts in areas of the country without permanent facilities, makes them particularly interesting for this study. These characteristics suggest that the festival environment may therefore be a setting where attendance is shaped by a desire to experiment with unfamiliar cultural experiences and to make new social connections.

¹ Accessed 13.12.08

Finally, music festivals' bounding in time and space of an audience offers the chance to study a micro-group in order to investigate whether various audience socio-demographic features appear to play a part in shaping the choice to attend.

1.3. The conceptual framework

Selwood (2006) suggests that the development of cultural policy requires conceptual input from academic researchers. The theoretical concepts of social and cultural capital form the main conceptual framework for this thesis. These two complementary theories offer enough complexity to underpin the study of all the issues identified above.

Cultural capital allows the examination of elitism, the experience and consumption of culture, issues of high/popular arts, experimentation, the role of social class and educational level, and the use of festival attendance to transmit meanings. Social capital theories give a framework for the examination of social interactions, community formation at festivals and the operation of norms and values. Theories of liminality, intensification and the carnivalesque highlight festivals as a chance to escape from everyday life.

1.3.1. Cultural capital

The concept of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984 [1979]; 1993 [1983]; 1996 [1992]) is identified as being a suitable underpinning for the exploration of cultural issues in relation to festivals. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital can take several forms, each of which will be used within this study. The embodied form of cultural capital is termed the habitus and may be defined as a long-lasting disposition of the mind and body. This disposition, which is determined by upbringing, socio-economic status and education, shapes an individual's taste for culture, according to Bourdieu. The concept of cultural capital therefore encourages consideration of the roles of audience demographics, existing cultural taste and cultural taste formation in relation to festival attendance. The

possible distinction or blurring between high and popular music consumption and whether experimentation is a feature of the music festival experience will also be underpinned by the concept of cultural capital.

Also part of the theory of cultural capital, Bourdieu's research concept of cultural field will be used as a conceptual guide to the process of situating the research within the context of music festivals (Bourdieu, 1993 [1983]). The field concept also encourages a holistic approach to festivals as a setting. The holistic approach allows the incorporation of the cultural works themselves as well as all the various social actors and cultural institutions which are members of the field (Johnson, 1993). Historical trajectories and current positions are included within the field model, giving it temporal depth. Fields are conceived of as containing sub-fields which provide settings and broader contexts for the operation of cultural activities. Festivals could be said to be enclosed within the field of cultural events, which is itself enclosed within the field of cultural activity. Different types of festivals, including music festivals, which are the focus of this research, are enclosed within the festivals sub-field.

1.3.2. Social capital

The consideration of social issues relating to the festival experience will be framed principally by Bourdieu's (2002 [1986]) view of the concept of social capital due to its close interrelationship with his concept of cultural capital. The concept of social capital is useful when examining the role of a desire for social interaction and community membership in encouraging attendance at music festivals. Putnam's (2000) and Coleman's (1988) views on social capital are also highlighted. Putnam's concepts of bridging social capital (new, lasting friendships) and bonding social capital (intensified existing friendships) as features of the festival experience are particularly useful conceptual tools for the examination of the role of social networks in building social

capital. Coleman's slightly different view of social capital is also useful for its emphasis on the benefits which individuals perceive they gain from their network of social contacts.

1.3.3. Possible alternatives to social and cultural capital

Although social and cultural capital were selected as being most appropriate to form the mainstay of the theoretical framework, three other theories were also considered as alternatives. The theoretical dichotomy of the omnivore (one who has a variety of cultural tastes) and the univore (one who focuses on a specific cultural taste) (Peterson and Kern, 1996), was considered as an alternative approach to cultural capital to the study of cultural taste. Alternatives to social capital which were considered were those of tribes and sub-cultures. These post-modern theories of social interaction stress the tendency of the individual to flit between activities, becoming temporary members of tribes (Maffesoli, 1996 [1988]), or sub-cultures (Bennett, 1999; Maffesoli, 1996 [1988]). Although these were borne in mind during the data collection, they were regarded as having insufficient complexity to encompass the range of issues under consideration.

1.3.4. Theories focusing on festivals

Although social and cultural capital are the main theories underpinning this research, theories which highlight the special features of festivals are also incorporated into the theoretical framework to ensure that consideration is made of the setting. Four theorists provide relevant points.

Festivals have the potential to encourage attendees to spend extended time away from their day-to-day lives in a state of suspension. This state could be likened to the liminality highlighted by Van Gennep (1960 [1908]) and Turner (1982), and to

Bakhtin's carnivalesque (Bakhtin, 1968 [1965]). These theorists suggest that liminality or the carnivalesque encourage communities to become closer. Similarly, Lefebvre (1991 [1947]) sees festivals as offering time away from everyday life when people relax and let themselves go in the company of others. Festivals' emphasis on bringing audiences together for extended periods of time, often away from their home environment, therefore suggests that a desire to interact with others may be a feature of the experience.

In summary, the concepts of social and cultural capital were identified as appropriate underpinnings for this study of the contemporary social and cultural debates relating to attendance at music festivals. These will be explored at length later in this thesis.

The characteristics of tribes, sub-cultures and the omnivore/univore will also be considered during the data collection. Allowance within the research planning will be made to enable the investigation of the concept of liminality and the possibility of an intensification of everyday life being facilitated within a festival setting.

1.4. Research aims

This thesis has several aims.

- To investigate the role of social and cultural capital in individuals' music festival experience.
- To contribute to the further development of the theories of social and cultural capital.
- To consider whether possible alternative explanations to social and cultural capital theories, namely those of tribes, sub-cultures and omnivores/univores, are appropriate within the context of the festival experience.
- To make suggestions relevant to cultural policy with regard to:

- the nature and formation of festival attendees' cultural tastes, especially with reference to experimentation and the role of music hierarchies;
- festivals as sites of social interaction.

1.5. The research approach

This research project intends to fulfil the aims identified above. As fulfilment of the aims requires an in-depth exploration of the issues raised, qualitative methods were deemed appropriate. A qualitative approach will also provide alternative insights to the mainly quantitative methods employed in the major works by the main theorists, Bourdieu and Putnam. Participant observations and in-depth semi-structured interviews with festival attendees will be carried out at three music festivals in England. The data will be thematically coded and then analysed using Fairclough's (2003) approach to critical discourse analysis.

1.6. The structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into nine chapters. Chapter 1 introduced the topic and justified its study. The research setting was explained, and the theoretical concepts which underpin the study were highlighted. In this chapter, the aims of the thesis were also defined.

In Chapter 2 a full critical review of the literature relating to music festivals and their social and cultural features is presented.

More detail on the theoretical framework of social and cultural capital is given in Chapter 3. Further comment is also made on the theoretical concepts of liminality, tribes, subcultures and the omnivore/univore dichotomy.

Chapter 4 explains the methodological design. The methods used to collect and analyse the data are described, ethical and sampling issues are addressed, and a full report on the pilot stage of the project is presented. Finally, an explanation of the appropriateness and

technique of critical discourse analysis is given.

In Chapters 5, 6 and 7, the data is fully described under the thematic headings identified by the codings. Observations made at the three festivals are reported in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6, components of the individuals' interview texts are interwoven to enable a presentation of the social and cultural aspects of their current and past festival attendance. Chapter 7 focuses on the participants' reports of their music palettes and how their tastes were formed, relating these to their festival experience.

A critical discourse analysis of the data is presented in Chapter 8. Three orders of discourse and the related styles exhibited by the interviewees are set out.

Finally, Chapter 9, the conclusion of the thesis, assesses how the analysed data enables the research question to be answered. Implications for the development of the theories of social and cultural capital are inferred. Applications to policy are suggested. The limitations of the thesis are acknowledged and recommendations for further research are made.

1.7. Concluding overview of the introduction

As highlighted above, debates on social and cultural policy issues relating to the consumption of the arts feature in academic and political arenas. Festivals have been identified as an important area for research due to their recent proliferation, their place within the public funding arena, and their rich potential for an exploration of cultural policy issues within a theoretical framework. This thesis aims to use the theoretical concepts of social and cultural capital to frame the exploration of these issues. A qualitative approach using the critical discourse analysis of observations and semi-structured interviews will be employed.

Chapter 2: Review of the festival literature

2. Introduction

The aims and the conceptual framework for this thesis were outlined in Chapter 1. The primary aim is to investigate the role of social and cultural capital in individuals' music festival experience. As a first step towards this aim, this chapter will review the relevant literature on festivals in order to assess the state of knowledge and research on the sector. This will include an exploration of the concept of the festival and its potential as a site with special features. In line with the aims of this thesis, the review of the empirical literature will focus on literature featuring social and cultural perspectives on music festivals.

The review will be divided into three strands. The first, which looks at festival impacts research will take a critical view of literature which includes important examinations of the social and cultural impacts of music festivals. Literature featuring a tourism perspective on festivals comprises the second strand. These studies also include empirical studies looking at the social nature of ritual aspects of festivals as well as studies which focus on social and cultural values. Finally, literature focusing on the social and cultural features of music festival audiences will be explored.

2.1. What is a festival?

Festivals have been a feature of human life for hundreds of years. Many originated in the form of celebrations of solar or lunar cycles, or of the seasons. Others are rooted in religious or pagan ritual. Representations of people dressing in animal masks as part of the ritual celebrations of the festival of Saturnalia have been discovered on an Iberian vase dating from 200BC, for example, whilst references to stag costumes dating from AD370 and relating to celebrations of the twelve days of Christmas have also been

identified (Rippon, 2008 [1993]). The use of the term 'festival' has become prevalent in the 21st century, featuring a wide range of content, including the arts, sport, food and even research.

This thesis defines a festival as an event where people come together in a specific location away from their normal day-to-day life for an extended but bounded period of time in order to enjoy a coherent set of entertainment or activities.

The Oxford English dictionary defines 'festival' as either: a time of festive celebration or merry making; or a musical, film or theatrical performance or series of performances at recurring periods ("festival *n.*" 1989). The Latin origins of the term festival, highlighted by Falassi as *festa* and *feriare*, emphasise the features of public merriment, abstinence from work and religious worship (Falassi, 1987). Falassi highlights the many types of festival which now take place, suggesting that festivals can range from folk arts to fine arts, and include the religious and the secular. Falassi's own definition of the term, which he suggests is more suitable within a social science context, than is a general dictionary definition, states that 'festival' commonly means:

'a periodically recurrent, social occasion in which, through a multiplicity of forms and a series of coordinated events, participate directly or indirectly and to various degrees, all members of a community, united by ethnic, linguistic, religious, historical bonds, and sharing a worldview'. (Falassi, 1987, p. 2)

It is not clear from this definition whether Falassi sees festivals as socially divisive or socially cohesive. Does he, for example, see the festival as a conglomerate of people of different ethnicities brought together by the event, as reflected in the contemporary arts policies highlighted in Chapter 1 of this thesis? Alternatively his definition could portray festivals as a coming together of a community of people of a single ethnicity or religion, thus implying the exclusion of people of other ethnicities or religions. If the

former interpretation is taken, an emphasis on a festival as a vehicle of social cohesion is implied. If the latter interpretation is taken, it hints at the festival as a vehicle of exclusivity. In either interpretation, the definition raises issues relating to the questions asked by this thesis.

Mesnil (1987) aligns the carnival to the festival. She emphasises carnival's seasonal cycle, although suggests that, in Western societies, an urban, rather than a rural, setting for the event is the norm. Aligning the two terms of festival and carnival, Bakhtin's (1968 [1965]) work on Rabelais highlights the carnivalesque nature of the festive life of the Middle Ages. He stresses the strong element of play, along with its associated laughter, revelling, dancing and music. Bakhtin rejects religion as a sphere of the carnival, suggesting that carnival is essentially counter-religious. The May Day festival, for example, is identified by Bakhtin as a symbol of the temporary suspension of the Church's authority, when freedom from routine and liberation from all that is utilitarian is permitted.

Turner (1982) also dismisses religion as the key to festivals. He suggests that instead, cosmological systems were, and may still be, of central importance, with the emphasis on rite, myth, song and the employment of non-verbal symbolic genres such as dancing, painting, clay-modelling, wood carving and so on. These orientations towards mysticism, as well as an emphasis on crafts continue at many music festivals, such as Glastonbury, today.

Many festivals are not now attached to seasonal or solar cycles, nor do many include a religious component. Expressed purposes of festivals today, in addition to seeking to entertain, may include regeneration, the promotion of creativity, increased tourism, the perpetuation of local tradition, or the building of community cohesion.

2.1.1. The ritual nature of festivals

Falassi (1987) suggests that it is possible to classify festivals using a morphology which focuses on a range of ritual acts, or rites, which happen within the festival time and space. These include, for example, rites of conspicuous display, rites of conspicuous consumption, rites of exchange and rites of reversal: that is, the symbolic inversion of the 'normal' life of a culture. He sees a festival as being bounded by the framing rituals which open and close the festival, allowing the modification of time and space during the intervening festival time.

Falassi also includes rites of passage in his morphology of festivals, a concept which he attributes to Van Gennep (1960 [1908]). This concept is useful to the study of festivals, according to Falassi, for its emphasis on the special features of the middle stage of an event or ritual, the period which is in between the opening and closing framing rituals. The borderline nature and suspension of everyday life within this middle stage, shows similarities to the features of carnival identified by Bakhtin (1968 [1965]), and termed carnivalesque in his study of Rabelais' work, evokes the concept of festival time as being a period which offers participants the chance to invert the patterns of daily life. Turner (1969) focuses on and further develops the theory relating to the middle stage, termed liminality, of Van Gennep's rites of passage.

The characteristics of this liminal stage are particularly relevant to the themes of this thesis. As well as highlighting the festival as different from an individual's everyday life, Van Gennep and Turner emphasise the supposed increase in a sense of community, or 'communitas' (Turner, 1974, p. 274), engendered by the sense of being in a phase which is distinct from everyday life. This emphasis on community aligns with the theory of social capital framing this thesis. Van Gennep (1960 [1908]) theorises that during the liminal phase of the rite of passage, local social cohesion may be reinforced

following the arrival of strangers in large numbers preparing to enact a ritual. He explains that the local inhabitants are quite likely to leave the village and take refuge elsewhere' perhaps in the same way as Edinburgh residents are reputed to depart on holiday when tourists arrive for the Edinburgh Festivals. Similarly, reports that Galway's local residents are becoming tired of the proliferation of festivals also evokes these theories (Fay, 2006). Alternatively, Van Gennep suggests that the invasion may encourage local residents to close their doors and gather together, excluding the strangers. Integration of the locals and the strangers is, however, also possible after a brief period of assessment, according to Van Gennep. This potential for the social integration of strangers is of relevance to the social themes of this thesis.

2.1.2. The three stages in a rite of passage

According to Van Gennep (1960 [1908]) a rite of passage comprises three stages. The first stage, termed separation, is when the individual detaches from his or her usual point in the social structure and sets off on a ritualistic journey. This stage could be aligned to the departure from home to attend the festival.

The middle phase of 'margin' or transition, termed 'limen' by Turner (1969, p. 94), signifying 'threshold' in Latin, is characterised by the ambiguity of the 'passenger': he or she has neither the attributes of the past nor of the coming state and may defy classification in cultural space. This phase could be linked to the period of attending the festival. According to Turner, liminal beings will have no status: they may be disguised, wear almost nothing which demonstrates their rank or role, so be ground down to homogeneity in order to enable themselves to be transformed. These characteristics of the liminal state may provide useful parallels with the festival environment where a 'uniform' of similar clothing may be worn by festival attendees. People will have left most of their possessions, or cultural goods, at home to live in a basic tent or hotel room

for a few days while attending the festival. The people engaged in the liminal phase may develop an intense comradeship and egalitarianism with each other, according to Turner, a situation which he terms 'communitas' (Turner, 1974, p. 274). Parallels with Putnam's (2000) social capital-related suggestions that attendance at cultural events may promote community connectedness are evoked by the description of communitas. The final stage of Van Gennep's rite of passage, that of reincorporation to a stable state, is also considered by Turner (1969), who suggests that individuals may return to their previous cultural environment, possibly with elevated status. This elevated status could perhaps be linked with the possibility of being able to show off, back at home, the cultural capital gained at the festival, thus showing further relevance to this thesis.

2.1.3. Festivals as settings of intensification

Exploring the characteristics of Greek and French medieval festivals, Lefebvre (1991 [1947]) also regards festivals as contrasting with everyday life. However, rather than seeing festivals as sites of liminality as in Turner's and Van Gennep's writing, Lefebvre maintains that medieval festivals featured an intensification and magnification of everyday life.

Like Falassi, Lefebvre highlights the featuring of ritual inversions at these medieval festivals, such as cross-gender dressing, or the donning of animal skins or masks. The ritual consumption of a communal meal and the fixing of festival dates by the country calendar, highlighted by Lefebvre as a feature of festivals, indicate further links to a rites of passage perspective. He suggests that festivals amplify community, food, work and man's relation to nature and the cosmic order. In a further emphasis on intensification, Lefebvre claims that documentation shows that social links between peasants in neighbouring villages were tightened and desires pent up through working were given rein.

'In celebrating, each member of the community went beyond himself, so to speak, and in one fell swoop drew all that was energetic, pleasurable and possible from nature, food, social life and his own body and mind.'

(Lefebvre, 1991 [1947], p. 202)

This emphasis on intensification, of people at festivals drawing from the depths of their bodies and mind, is of interest to this thesis when linked to cultural capital theories. If Lefebvre's perspective on festivals is accepted – he does not cite his evidence, however – festivals could be regarded as sites where an attendee takes the chance to express and amplify his or her cultural tastes. Lefebvre's conclusions about the intensification of social integration at festivals are also of relevance when considering social capital theories within the context of festivals, as within this thesis.

2.2. Empirical research on social and cultural aspects of music festivals

Previous empirical research has featured a range of types of festivals. This thesis focuses on social and cultural aspects of music festivals, as explained in Chapter 1. This review of the festival literature will emulate the focus of this thesis by commenting on studies which feature social and cultural issues within the context of music festivals.

Music festivals were chosen for three reasons. First because festivals featuring music is generally acknowledged as being a significant subdivision of the festivals sector.

Secondly because attendance at live music performances and events, including classical, jazz and opera, forms the biggest type of arts event attended by adults in England (Aust and Vine, 2007); and thirdly because Bourdieu particularly highlighted music as an important feature of his cultural theories:

'...nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music.'

Bourdieu (1984 [1979], p. 18)

Although there are some overlaps, festival literature featuring a cultural or social perspective may be divided into three main strands, each with a varying degree of relevance to the topic proposed by this thesis. The first strand features impact studies. Economic impact studies predominate within the literature. Although studies which focus only on economic impact are outside the scope of this review, the impact studies which also include consideration of social and cultural impact provide some relevant insights. These provide useful background on the social landscape of the festival. The second strand focuses on place, looking, for example, at festivals as tourist destinations, as places of temporary escape from day to day life, or as sites where people connect with their locality. The tourism-related ‘temporary escape’ angle of this strand is a link to the socially-orientated liminality theories used as part of the theoretical framework of this thesis. Finally, of most obvious relevance to this thesis, is the third strand. This strand focuses directly on the social and cultural issues relating to music festival audiences, including those of values, elitism, social cohesion and cultural taste.

2.2.1. Music festival impact studies

The first strand of music festival research to be examined in this review is that of impact studies. Impact studies tend to be conducted by academics or consultants on behalf of funding or policy bodies in partnership with festival management. These are sometimes not formally peer-reviewed and focus on outputs at a macro level, rather than the lead up to and experience of a festival at an individual level, as in this thesis. The aim of these studies is usually to demonstrate the value of festivals to the local economy, and sometimes to the community, in order to justify the festivals’ existence and possibly to confirm the appropriateness of further funding awards. Although economic impact considerations tend to dominate, some also highlight social and cultural themes, thus making them appropriate for consideration here. Quinn (2005a) notes that city

authorities tend to ignore the social value of festivals in favour of economic value, however. The academic literature also features impact studies, but tends to focus on building impact measurement methodologies.

An examination of recently published impact studies shows that they report universally positive results. The report '*Thundering Hooves*', a stakeholder study of Edinburgh's arts festivals, sponsored by a consortium of Scottish arts and public bodies, makes it clear that it is not enough to be able to demonstrate only aesthetic value to funders within the current cultural policy environment (AEA Consulting, 2006). This study concludes that Edinburgh's festivals had made the city a foremost cultural destination and generated millions of pounds for the Scottish economy each year, although the report warns that other festivals around the world are close on its heels as contenders for audiences.

Other studies also demonstrated economic success. The latest Festivals Mean Business report, commissioned by the British Arts Festivals Association (BAFA), collected data on audience numbers and their spending habits to show that the 'UK festivals sector is as dynamic and vibrant as ever' (Sussex Arts Marketing, 2008, p.3). Similarly, The Association of Festival Organisers (AFO) produced a study of forty folk festivals and their associated stakeholders, which demonstrates that folk festivals are 'a key factor in the country's cultural economy' (The Association of Festival Organisers, 2004, p.3). A study of the economic and social impact of eleven East Midlands cultural festivals was funded by Arts Council England in partnership with the East Midlands Development Agency (Maughan and Bianchini, 2004). 4,700 questionnaires were analysed to conclude that these festivals were highly successful economically.

Social and cultural impacts were also considered in some of these studies. As well as confirming the sector's substantial economic contribution, the Arts Council-funded

study of the arts festival sector in Yorkshire (Long and Owen, 2006), for example, also catalogued a range of identified social benefits. These social benefits included the development of community and social co-operation engendered by volunteering. The AFO study of folk festivals stressed their value in attracting new audiences to folk music, developing musical skills, and bringing people together socially.

As these studies have all shown, there is no doubt that festivals do encourage spending by festival visitors, and that they create employment, albeit usually short-term and much of it unpaid. Impact calculation methods are not explained in detail in the reports and Chhabra (2004) warns of potential pitfalls. He explains that employment multiplier outputs are problematic as festivals are unlikely to generate long term jobs, festival vendors residing outside the area will take their gross revenue with them; and spending by locals may have occurred anyway.

A review of the literature relating to the economic and social benefits of events and festivals by Wood, Robinson and Thomas (2006) concludes that social benefits are usually seen by organisers to be of secondary importance, despite various studies claiming that the social benefits often outweigh the economic benefits. The authors collect together the key features of social impacts into a model, and identify categories, which link to social capital, such as a sense of community, belonging, and social cohesion. However, they fail to cite the studies on which they base their comments or to detail their methodologies.

Social impact, rather than economic impact as in the above studies, is the focus of a study of a Gaelic Festival by Matarasso (1996). Although this was also not published in an academic journal, it is worth noting as one of the first to attempt to assess the social impacts of festivals. The respected creative industry-oriented think tank, Comedia, appears to have funded as well as published the study, lending an aura of independence

to its design and findings. This study, based on the responses to 242 questionnaires, as well as on participant observations, found that people made new friends, became more self-confident, increased their sense of identification with Highland culture, and felt happier after attending these events. The study has been heavily criticised, however, for its poor research design and its conclusions are now treated with scepticism (Merli, 2002; Selwood, 2002). Criticism include that the questionnaire wording is vague, the conclusions, as well as the statements about society in general, are so bold as to be meaningless, and any potential negative effects of the festival are downplayed or discounted. Although Matarasso's study has a social orientation, so is of interest to this thesis, its focus was on the outcomes of the festival, rather than on features of the festival experience and the lead-up to the festival as within this thesis. Nevertheless, useful lessons about research design and the use of terminology were learned.

Consultations with 'expert' academic and practitioner judges, as well as a literature review, were used by Gursoy, Kim and Uysal (2004, p. 174) to attempt to develop a standardised survey instrument which could be used to measure the socio-economic impact of festivals. Constructs were grouped under four headings using a Likert scale to measure responses: community cohesiveness, economic benefits, social incentives, and social costs. A 20% response rate was obtained to the *a priori* questionnaire from the organisers of 600 festivals, which found that they saw their festivals as contributing to community cohesiveness and creating social incentives (such as providing recreational opportunities), but did not see festivals as major contributors to the local economy, and did not see them as having high social costs, such as increased crime and traffic congestion. It is important to question the validity of asking only festival organisers to assess the value of their own event: this thesis will be focusing on the attendees rather than the organisers. Even after questionnaire modification, several of the indicators, such as 'increase standard of living' and 'build community pride' (Gursoy et al, 2004, p.

175), would be very difficult for festival organisers to assess. Again, as with the Mararasso study, this paper provided useful lessons on social research pitfalls in relation to festivals.

Pattison (2006) uses stakeholder interviews to assess the potential of the Edinburgh festivals to stimulate regeneration, including social and cultural regeneration. Despite reporting that some participants admitted that social and class exclusion was a feature of the festivals, Pattison concluded that there was general agreement amongst the festival organisers that the festivals did bring various social benefits. The social benefits claimed included improvement in the attractiveness and prosperity of the area, an increase in morale and civic pride, and educational benefits: all unsubstantiated and certainly difficult to link back unequivocally to the festivals.

A useful exploratory overview of festival impact techniques as used by seven UK arts festivals was carried out by Williams and Bowdin (2007). This concluded that the evaluation criteria and methods used need to tie in with the objectives of the individual festivals and be treated as performance improvement tools. Williams and Bowdin also point out that some criteria, such as whether an appreciation for the arts had been developed, will be subjective and difficult to assess. Evaluation by festival managers tended to be basic, and resources to accomplish it effectively were lacking. Only one festival in their study of seven, Edinburgh, as cited above (AEA Consulting, 2006), had attempted social and economic impact assessment, although this was seen as potentially valuable by other festival organisers. Williams and Bowdin suggest that rather than a consideration of economic impacts, the assessment of social and cultural issues is more important for festivals, especially if a festival's aims focus on these areas. They advocate further research into these areas. This thesis aims to provide useful input.

2.2.2. Music festival tourism

Music festivals feature within the tourism literature, often as a sub-set of music tourism (Gibson and Connell, 2005), cultural tourism (Nurse, 2004) or event tourism (Getz, 1991; 2008). Music and other types of festivals are often used to extend the duration of tourism seasons and are the most common form of music tourism (Gibson and Connell, 2005). Planning, managing and marketing feature within research on festival tourism. Social and economic impacts from a tourism perspective provide overlap with the previous section of this literature review, and issues of social and cultural values overlap with the subsequent section. The role of place may also be grouped with the tourism strand. Place may be portrayed from the perspective of visitors from outside the area, who may experience a sense of escapism; as well as from the locals' perspective, who may experience their home location differently due to the festival.

Chang (2006) provides a market segmentation approach to investigating the motivations of the visitors attending aboriginal cultural festivals, which include music. She discovered that the visitors were heterogeneous, and that the more relaxed pace compared with day-to-day life was more interesting to some than the actual content of the festival. The finding of heterogeneity is of relevance to issues of cultural capital, while the change of pace finding is of relevance to liminality theories. Nurse (2004) provides a link between festival tourism and economic impact in his study showing the positive economic impact of Caribbean festival tourism, identifying carnivals, reggae festivals and jazz festivals, as important 'pull' factors in encouraging tourism.

Brown and Chappel (2007) emphasise the role of ritual in festival celebrations in Australia, which commemorated the birth of Robbie Burns with poetry and music. These festivals were attended mainly by Australians of Scottish descent. Using the liminality perspective, the authors explain that these festivities give people the chance to

suspend their everyday activities and to take time out. However, they also claim that these celebrations do not go as far as the ritual inversions characteristic of, for example a Rio or Trinidad carnival. Among their findings, Brown and Chappel identify 'sacred spaces', particularly a courtyard with a statue of the poet, where rituals songs are sung and speeches are made which open, or frame, the celebrations. Rites of conspicuous consumption are evoked by the food displayed on tartan-covered tables ready to be consumed by kilt-wearing attendees. Brown and Chappel highlight the attendance at the celebrations by primarily Australians of Scottish descent. This closely defined attendance group raises issues of the exclusivity characteristic of cultural capital theories, to be explained in the next chapter.

Bridging economic impact, tourism, and place, Brennan-Horley, Connell and Gibson (2007) highlight the positive economic impact of grafting a particular image onto a place through the development of a festival. Aldskogius (1993), examining the spatial pattern of festivals in Sweden, discovered a strong relationship between music festivals and tourism, but little support for the festivals representing local musical cultures, except in the case of folk music events. Quinn's (2005b) study of the Galway arts festival also took the perspective of place. In a link to social capital, Quinn concluded that festivals play important social roles for place-based communities. Linking in to cultural capital, Quinn also observed that the Galway festival was non-elitist in its social origins, seeking to challenge the hegemonic definition of culture as 'high culture' and contrasting with the Wexford Opera Festival's purposively elitist stance (Quinn, 2003). In a later article, Quinn (2005a) cited the example of the Avignon festival in France as an example of a festival using place in the form of unusual venues and times of day and night to promote social interaction in a spirit of festivity. She saw this planning as an attempt by the organisers to try and move away from the use of arts festivals as a means of defining social distinction.

Also linking place with elitism, Gibson and Connell (2005, p. 217) suggest that the symbolic capital associated with jazz, classical music and opera can imbue a place with 'class' and sophistication. Although they comment that credible data is generally lacking on whether these audiences are from the higher professions, they suggest that if this is as true as is generally assumed, certain festivals are likely to be attractive sources of income generation. Highlighting the role of festivals as escapism from the stresses of everyday life, Gibson and Connell also highlight the lifestyle aspects of festivals, hinting at cultural capital and liminality-related issues. However they comment that the alternative lifestyles formerly encapsulated within festivals such as Glastonbury have now become normative and mundane due to the festivals' routine structures and commercialisation. In a further link to social capital theories, Gibson and Connell observe the tendency towards the use of festivals by visitors as style and attitudes showcases where the assumption is that communities of fans can get together. They do report that critics suggest that the promise of the experience of a sense of community at a festival is merely a commercial ploy which fails to deliver.

The suggestion that commercialisation or commodification has the potential to destabilise the cultural rituals of the community is also raised by Matheson (2008) in relation to a Celtic music festival. Commodification is one of the features of the Notting Hill Carnival according to Carver (2000), with escalated prices and sponsorship emphasising its location in the market place. Carver draws parallels between these links between corporate culture and popular culture and the early modern carnival's articulation of a complex exchange between high and low culture.

2.2.3. The characteristics of music festival audiences

Literature focusing on the characteristics of music festival audiences is particularly relevant to this thesis. Social and cultural capital theories both draw on socio-

demographic features of audience members as building blocks, as will be explained in subsequent chapters.

Quinn (2000; 2003) highlights the role of the Wexford Opera Festival as a site where people make statements, through a display of values, about who they are and how they live, promoting particular sets of values. This comprehensive empirical study used open-ended questions within surveys of local residents, tourists and festival organisers, as well as archival material. With a link to tourism and also to place issues, Quinn found that the local residents tended to favour the fringe festival, whilst visitors were more prevalent at the evening opera performances. She concludes that these distinct differences reproduce social difference as well as the hierarchies of 'high' and 'low' arts (Quinn, 2000, p. 269). Quinn does not identify the fringe content, however, appearing to leave the reader to assume that the fringe programme features the 'low' arts. It should be noted that fringe programmes may in practice sometimes be more edgy, and thus may perhaps be categorisable as more sophisticated in content, than some mainstream opera.

In his overview of festivals, Waterman (1998a) suggests that arts festivals (including music) are a chance for a group celebration of shared values. He also suggests that the popular festival can be a means of control by elites through distraction of the masses by these carefully controlled events. They may be a mechanism for the symbolic emphasis of social division, according to Waterman: they become places to be seen, echoing the cultural capital theories of Bourdieu. Waterman also highlights the importance of the ephemeral setting as well as the innovative role of the fringe and the use of public spaces to supposedly 'democratise' the arts. He wonders if this is an attempt to deliberately undermine the elitism of the arts for political purposes. Waterman's study of the Kfar Blum festival also highlights the role of the intensification of division. This

annual chamber music festival at a kibbutz in northern Israel, was dominated by elite groups, making it highly desirable to be seen to attend, according to Waterman (1998b).

In Gardner's (2004) participant ethnographic study of bluegrass festival life, he characterises the festival as a homogeneous community, where festival attendees are socialised to a festival code. The geographical location of the festival is mobile, changing from year to year, providing an alternative to traditional place-based communities. Its enabling of the temporary segregation of the attendees from their home-based social ties is considered an important feature of the social life of the festival. The established rules and norms of the festival code are defined by social interaction, leading to the creation of a stable enduring community according to Gardner. A long-term participant in bluegrass festivals himself, he neglects, however, to highlight any potential downsides to this simple, nostalgic-style portable community.

Crompton and McKay (1997) found that known-group socialisation as well as interaction and socialisation with previously un-known others were important and unanticipated features of festival attendance. Commenting on social interaction at festivals, Long, Robinson and Picard (2004) suggest that festivals may provide opportunities for cross-cultural understanding. However, they also highlight festivals' potential for emphasising exclusivity and superiority. Jamieson's (2004) study confirms this view in terms of Edinburgh's festivals, which she found to exclude those living in the housing estates on the outskirts of the city in favour of the cultural tourists.

Larsen and O'Reilly (2005) also highlight socialising as a feature of festivals, dividing it into three levels: with known people, with new people and with the festival attendees as a whole. Their interviewees identified festivals as particularly encouraging of all these styles of social networking, although they did not present any evidence of newly-formed long-lasting friendships.

Studies examining the social composition of festival audiences are identifiable. Gardner (2004), for example claims that people from a wide variety of educational, occupational and religious backgrounds mingle at bluegrass festivals. Drawing on Bourdieu's cultural theories, Willems-Braun's (1994) study of Canada's fringe festivals also highlights themes with relevance to this research project. He warns that fringe festival attendees cannot be unproblematically categorised into social groups due to the possibilities of multiplicities within individuals and within the festival space. Willems-Braun proffers this as a possible problem with Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Drawing on Bourdieu's conceptualisation of taste, he links this to the commodification of festival events where certain signs and symbols are designed to align with the desired audience. Despite alleging classification difficulties, Willems-Braun concludes that the fringe festival he studied attracted a range of types of attendees. However, despite this, he found that audiences at the individual events within the festival showed some homogeneity. He suggests that groups used attendance to express solidarity with the performers by attending a fringe show which they felt reflected their own social, cultural and political group. He also explains that festival promotions do not usually attempt to attract diverse social groups, being more concerned with filling seats. So in line with this, the Vancouver Fringe Programme was predominantly distributed within the affluent middle-to-upper class neighbourhoods.

Sharpe (2008) describes the attempts of one alternative festival in Canada to draw in a mainstream crowd of attendees who were likely to be transformed by the politics of the festival. However, in practice she found that the festival tended to appeal to individuals who were already aligned to the festival's alternative values. The organisers also complained to Sharpe that they had to contend with local newspapers focusing on taking pictures of the 25% of attendees who were dressed in hippie style, thus further reinforcing local perception of the event as being only appropriate for hippie type

people. Despite the problems outlined in the article, Sharpe concludes that festivals and other leisure events will expand rather than reduce opportunities for social and political emancipation.

Oakes' (2003) demographic survey of the audiences for jazz and classical music festivals was aimed at collecting data of use to potential sponsors. A good response of around 650 questionnaires was obtained, around half for each genre of music. Analysis of the questionnaires confirmed the high educational level of both sets of audiences, as well as a high proportion of over 65s at the classical festival, and only a slightly younger age profile at the jazz festival. Regarding cross-genre attendance, there was very little attendance by classical festival attendees at other jazz events, though more attendance at classical festivals by jazz fans. These surveys appear to confirm the homogeneity of audiences in terms of music tastes and echo other studies in terms of educational level and age profiles for jazz and classical music attendance.

Also identifying tension between the emphasis by some stakeholders on the social aspects of festivals and by others on the economic and political aspects, Crespi-Vallbona and Richards (2007) examined festivals in Catalunya. The authors report the claims of one idealistic interviewee that fiesta creates cohesion within the community, although the participant also admitted that contradictions can also be made evident. Others also state realistically that they doubt whether the fiesta does develop cohesion in wider Catalan society. Interestingly, one participant distinguished between festivals and fiestas, claiming that whilst a festival caters for one specific group, a fiesta is for everyone. Crespi-Vallbona and Richards usefully highlight the tension between the use of festivals for social integration, that is, the lessening of social and cultural differences, and their use as a tool to emphasise identity, usually assumed to highlight individuals' social and cultural characteristics. No mention was made in the article of the possible

tension between local attendees of the festivals or fiestas and tourists.

Waterman's (1998b) empirical study of the Kfar Blum Festival in Galilee found that its audience was homogeneous, certainly in its early days, when domination by 'elite' social groups made it a place to 'see and be seen'. However, Waterman found that attempts were being made by festival organisers to try to diversify the audiences by introducing programmes with wider appeal. He concludes that these attempts challenged the artistic credentials of the festival, implying that he subscribes to the hegemony of high arts as superior to popular arts.

2.2.4. Conclusion

This review of the festival-related literature has confirmed that festivals are culturally and socially complex occasions which reward intensive study. Festivals have been shown to have the potential to be sites with special features. Falassi (1987), Turner (1969) and Van Gennep (1960 [1908]) align festivals to the rituals of many hundreds of years, suggesting that the lack of rules during the liminal phase of a rite of passage shows parallels to the transformation of social behaviour at a festival. Bakhtin's (1968 [1965]) concept of the carnivalesque also highlights the potential of the festival for exoticism and thus out-of-the-ordinary behaviour. Meanwhile, Lefebvre's (1991 [1947]) perspective sparks interest in the particular potential of the festival to suggest that the setting may uncover and intensify attendees' deep-rooted characteristics.

Review of the empirical literature on festivals, much of which is fairly recent, has highlighted a lack of rigour in many studies, particularly within those which were commissioned by the festival organisers or their political sponsors. Pockets of academic excellence were highlighted however, particularly within work relating to audience demographics (Oakes, 2003), place (Quinn, 2005b), and social and cultural values (Gardner, 2004; Quinn, 2000; 2003; Waterman, 1998a; Willems-Braun, 1994).

However, much of this high quality work is now becoming dated. Perhaps the more recent focus on impacts (with, it seems, an orientation towards positive outcomes) has eclipsed more academically rigorous theoretically-grounded studies. This thesis therefore aims to redress this balance by using a theoretical framework to explore music festivals from a social and cultural perspective.

Because festivals have significance in terms of arts and culture, examining the social and cultural issues which underpin the festival experience necessitates a theoretical approach which is sensitive to this. Social and cultural capitals address the formation of taste and link it to the social world. Therefore it is an appropriate framework and will be explored further in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: Review of the theoretical literature

3. Introduction

Chapter 2 explored the literature on research into social and cultural issues relating to music festivals. It showed that although there has been recent research relating to the social impact of festivals, and some on social and cultural issues relating to festival tourism, recent research with a socio-cultural focus on individuals was sparse. Within the individually-focused socio-cultural research, only one looked at festivals in England (Oakes, 2003). There were also few studies featuring rigorously employed well-established sociological theories as framing devices. Instead theories of place were employed by some (Brennan-Horley, Connell and Gibson, 2007; Quinn, 2003; 2005; Waterman, 1998) ; and economics-oriented approaches, including cost-benefit analyses, were used by others (Rao, 2001).

As explained in Chapter 1, in order to address these gaps, this thesis proposes to use the theoretical concepts of social and cultural capital to underpin research into the music festival experience. These theories are complex enough to offer the chance to study the range of issues relating to music festival experience identified as needing more research. These were highlighted in Chapter 1 as including elitism, the high arts/popular arts debate, experimentation, the role of educational level, the role of socio-economic classifications, and social inter-relationships.

This chapter will therefore examine the literature relating to the theoretical concept of cultural capital. Literature relating to social capital, the theoretical concept partnering cultural capital in this thesis, is also examined in detail. Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam, are generally regarded as the key theorists for these two concepts. Bourdieu's social and cultural capital, and Coleman's and Putnam's

approaches to social capital are therefore put forward as appropriate theoretical underpinnings for this thesis.

Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, used in particular to underpin his renowned work '*Distinction*', (Bourdieu, 1984 [1979]), is still seen as key to understanding contemporary cultural production and consumption (Bennett and Silva, 2006; McRobbie, 2005; Prieur, Rosenlund and Skjott-Larsen, 2008; Sallaz and Zavisca, 2007; Wright, 2009). Bourdieu himself identified discourse about music as the supreme opportunity for individuals to indulge in 'intellectual window-dressing': that is to flaunt their knowledge (Bourdieu, 1993 [1984], p. 103), suggesting his approach as appropriate for a study of music festivals. This also confirms that a focus on festivals which include music is an appropriate choice.

Although commonly cited within cultural literature, and used recently by Savage (2006) to underpin a study of music taste in the UK, the use of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital as a framework for the study of music festivals is rare. Of the two instances discovered, Willems-Braun's (1994) study, reported earlier, is now at least fifteen years old, whilst Fjell's (2007) is oriented to festival management rather than individuals' attendance.

Bourdieu (2002 [1986]) claims that the concept of cultural capital is indivisible from that of social capital. He suggests that the cultural capital-related ways of being, speaking and doing as well as the appropriation of cultural goods as symbolic goods are used as currency to guarantee a social capital or capital of social relationships. These currencies therefore appear to be appropriate to the study of issues relating to social inter-relationships, community cohesion and elitism. Jeannotte (2003) highlights the increasing interest amongst Canadian cultural policy makers of the links between social and cultural capital, although she focuses on Putnam's (2000) approach to social capital,

rather than Bourdieu's.

It was therefore identified as appropriate to use the two theoretical concepts: social and cultural capital, in tandem to underpin this thesis. However, Bourdieu did not develop his theory of social capital to the same extent as he did his theory of cultural capital. Therefore the approach to social capital of (Putnam, 1995; 2000) and that of Coleman (1988; 1990) will be explored alongside that of Bourdieu. No instances of the use of social capital theory to underpin festivals research were discovered, although examples of its use as a concept within the cultural field were found (Arai and Pedlar, 2003; Cassidy and Watts, 2005; Crossley, 2008; Jeannotte, 2003), and Quinn (2005a) did make a passing reference to Putnam's claim, which she questioned, that the arts could be a vehicle for convening diverse groups of citizens. Related theories and social capital critique will also be highlighted later in this chapter.

Before proceeding to an examination of social and cultural capital, Bourdieu's concept of field will be examined below. This concept provides a setting for the operation of social and cultural capitals.

3.1. The cultural field

Bourdieu developed the concept of field to define the structured social spaces within which agents take up positions relating to the amount of relevant capitals they possess (Bourdieu, 1993 [1983]). Bourdieu saw the whole of social space as a set of inter-relating social structures, or fields: in effect several fields, which include an economic field, an educational field and a political field. He also identified a cultural field which provides the setting for the sets of relationships between the works themselves, the producers of the works and the consumers of the works.

Each of the three festivals may be regarded as fields, providing the settings within which social and cultural capital play a role in the activities of the individual attendees.

The three festivals are positioned within the festival field, which is itself positioned within the cultural field. Thus, cultural influences from outside the festival fields are also drawn in.

Agents struggle for position in any given field, according to Bourdieu. They take up positions according to the objective structures which make positions available and the incorporated structures which allow individuals with the appropriate habitus, or sense of practice, to enter the field (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). Bourdieu identified two forms of capital as particularly significant in relation to the concept of the cultural field: symbolic capital refers to the amount of accumulated prestige or consecration; whilst cultural capital, the form of capital of more relevance to this thesis, relates to the cultural knowledge, competencies or dispositions, that is the habitus, which enable an individual to decipher cultural relations and cultural artefacts (Johnson, 1993).

Producers, directors, critics and academics, as well as the public (the focus of this research), all occupy positions within the structure of the cultural field.

Each field has its own norms or ‘sensible practices’, which those with the appropriate habitus will be able to decipher (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980], p. 66). The field may also adjust external determinants to align them with its particular set of practices before it allows them to have an effect. The field is also based on a particular form of belief about what constitutes a cultural work, as well as its value (Johnson, 1993). McRobbie (2005) agrees that the field constrains as well as orchestrates the practices which are tacitly seen as appropriate to take place within its frame.

Focusing particularly on cultural consumption within the arts, Bourdieu introduced a further dimension to the concept of field (Bourdieu, 1996 [1992]). Here he brought together the history of the fields of cultural production with the history of the social space as a whole, suggesting that cultural consumption observable at any given moment

in time is a result of this collision. This angle reminds that a historical perspective, as well as an overall social perspective, should not be forgotten when investigating the festival experience.

In a more recent publication, (Bourdieu, 1999) equates fields to physically objectified social spaces, using the example of the concentration of the rarest goods and their owners in certain sites of specific space, such as Fifth Avenue in New York or the Rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré in Paris. He suggests that the social oppositions objectified in physical space may be reproduced as categories of perception of mental structures. This can then tend to reinforce in the minds of playwrights and critics an opposition between avant-garde (for example, off-Broadway) and bourgeois art (Broadway shows), gradually converting them into mental structures and systems of preference. According to Bourdieu, capital makes it possible to dominate space: to keep undesirable persons and things at a distance. Conversely, those who are deprived of capital are held at a distance from these goods and chained to a place. Continuing with the theme of equating physical space with field, Bourdieu also suggests that if individuals attempt to move into a new space, they need to possess the cultural capital which that space tacitly requires of its occupants. Alternatively, they need to possess the social capital of relations, connections or ties associated with prolonged legitimate occupation of a site. This angle on the field concept appears to be particularly relevant to the study of the physical site of a festival. An investigation of the ways in which festival attendees may fulfil or try to fulfil the cultural capital or social capital requirements of a festival will be appropriate areas of research on which to focus.

3.2. Cultural capital

3.2.1. Overview

The themes included in Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital provide a useful theoretical framework for an examination of the music festival experience. Bourdieu's linking of attendance at concerts, plays and museums with the possession of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984 [1979]) suggests that it could also be appropriate to link the music festival experience with cultural capital.

According to Bourdieu (2002 [1986]), cultural capital can exist in three forms. The embodied state, termed a *habitus*, is a disposition of the mind and body: that is, learned behaviour which seems instinctive. The objectified state of cultural capital features the use of cultural goods, such as works of art, books or recorded music, to confirm its existence. The third form is the institutionalised state, where cultural capital is consecrated by educational qualifications, honours and so on. These three forms will direct the structuring of the investigation into the role of cultural capital in the festival experience.

3.2.2. Habitus

The central feature of Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital is the concept of *habitus*. Bourdieu explains that he uses the term *habitus*, rather than the term 'habit', to emphasise the productive, generative power of a *habitus* in comparison to the mechanical, repetitive nature of a habit. The *habitus* cannot be transmitted instantly by gift or exchange, according to Bourdieu. He offers extended definitions of the term in several of his works, with these two versions, summing up its facets, being particularly useful examples:

‘...the habitus is a product of conditionings which tends to reproduce the objective logic of those conditionings while transforming it. It’s a kind of transforming machine that leads us to ‘reproduce’ the social conditions of our own production...’ (Bourdieu, 1993 [1984], p. 87)

‘The habitus – embodied history, internalised as a second nature and so forgotten as history – is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product.’ (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980], p. 56)

In his introduction to Bourdieu’s *‘The field of cultural production’*, Johnson (1993, p. 5), further clarifies the concept by explaining that Bourdieu’s habitus is sometimes described as a ‘feel for the game’ or a ‘second sense’. This sense of practice inclines individuals to act or perceive things in ways which are not calculated or planned. The dispositions tend to last a lifetime and are transposable to diverse fields of activity.

Bourdieu (1984 [1979]) suggests that the acquisition of habitus depends mainly on the family’s cultural capital and its transmission: this early acquisition leaves its marks. The initial accumulation of cultural capital occurs via socialisation from families with strong cultural capital: the transmission of cultural capital is therefore regarded by Bourdieu as a hidden form of a hereditary transmission of capital between social classes. It may thus be termed a homology theory: the same relative positions and structures are maintained over time. So a disposition to recognise the work of classical music composers, for example, is made possible, rather than by rote learning, through being exposed to cultural experience, so resulting in the development of a set of perceptual and evaluative skills. Bourdieu (1977 [1973]) also suggests that the most culturally privileged also are more likely to attend educational institutions which reinforce their cultural advantages, allowing them access to the sports and games of high society and the style of manners which guarantee success in certain careers. This facet of the theory of cultural capital

therefore suggests that consideration of the early cultural experiences of festival attendees within the family and at school is important.

The habitus also produces collective practices, according to Bourdieu (1990 [1980]). The collective habitus, showing links to theories of social capital, is the outcome of the collection of past experiences by a group or class. Through this history, schemes of perception, thought and action are consecrated by the group which sets informal unconsciously recognised limits and constraints which determine what is considered as correct by the group. Behaviour may thus be positively sanctioned by the group, or alternatively be negatively sanctioned and regarded as ‘not for the likes of us’. Bourdieu stresses, however, that although personal style always relates back to the common style, the habitus of individual members of a class still show diversity within the homogeneity of the class.

3.2.3. Objectified cultural capital

Objectified cultural capital, such as books or works of art, is transmissible, according to Bourdieu (2002 [1986]). However, this transmissibility only relates to the transfer of material ownership of a cultural good, and does not include the transfer of the habitus, that is the means of ‘consuming’ it.

According to Throsby (1999), entities such as buildings and locations generally regarded as cultural settings, as well as artworks and artefacts such as paintings and sculptures, may be seen as tangible or objectified cultural capital. A festival site and its artefacts could therefore be regarded as objectified cultural capital. Ownership or acquisition of a festival location by an individual audience member is rare, however (although not unknown). Festival attendees may, though, acquire cultural goods, including programmes, literature about an artist or performance, or perhaps an artwork or musical instrument or cd purchased at the event, as tangible evidence of their cultural

capital. They may see their presence at a tangible site of cultural capital as a desirable gain for them and one which could be talked about to others. They may also possess relevant objectified cultural capital already in the form of cds, hi-fi systems, or music reference materials. However, the means of ‘consuming’ these artefacts is embodied cultural capital and subject to the same laws of transmission as outlined in the previous section. As Bourdieu explains:

‘The habitus urges, interrogates, makes the object speak, while for its part, the object seems to incite, call upon, provoke the habitus.’ (Bourdieu, 1996 [1992], p. 320)

An investigation of objectified cultural capital will therefore need to be included within the research methodology.

3.2.4. Institutionalised cultural capital

Bourdieu (1984 [1979]) suggests that the higher an individual’s level of educational qualifications, the more likely that an individual will possess a taste for formal complexity and abstract representations. Bourdieu therefore concludes that the higher the educational level, as measured by years of schooling, the higher an individual’s level of cultural capital. He does caution, however, that people with higher education qualifications are less likely to admit that they lack understanding of modern art or classical music, and that most people are more likely to align themselves with activities that they recognise as legitimate, or high art (Bourdieu, 1977 [1973]). Bourdieu also suggests that a finding that duration of schooling affects tastes in music, painting and cinema needs further exploration, however, as its effect may also be modified by other variables, such as occupation, age, gender, or places of residence.

Various research directions are therefore indicated by this aspect of Bourdieu’s theories. Educational qualification levels will need to be taken into consideration, as well as the other independent variables identified by Bourdieu as potentially of relevance.

3.2.5. Bourdieu's taste zones

Underpinning Bourdieu's theories on cultural capital is an assumption that the arts may be divided into various taste zones. This indicates that there may be value in designing the research methodology to accommodate this possibility.

Bourdieu (1984 [1979], p. 16) suggests that taste may be divided into three zones which roughly correspond to education levels and social class. According to Bourdieu, 'legitimate taste' is associated with the most self-assured aesthetes, is typified by attendance at avant-garde concerts, plays or exhibitions and increases with education level and social class; 'middle-brow taste', represented by attendance at spectacular exhibitions, major concerts or 'classical' theatre is most common in the middle-classes; whilst 'popular taste', characterised by attending boulevard theatre and variety shows, is usually more common amongst the working class. Each of these genres is theoretically closely linked with an individual's position in social space and is therefore related via the habitus to the class system. According to Bourdieu:

'Taste classifies and it classifies the classifier'

(Bourdieu, 1984 [1979], p. 6).

When selecting the music festivals as settings for this study, there is value in ensuring that a range of potential taste zones are offered within the set of festivals.

3.3. Critique of Bourdieu's cultural capital

Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital is still respected and used to underpin contemporary research, although its major manifestation in a mainly quantitative study of mid to late twentieth century France (Bourdieu, 1984 [1979]) raises issues of transferability for some. Empirical testing has, however, resulted in some suggestions for the theory's modification or even for its rejection. These have included suggestions

for the modification of Bourdieu's social class-based categories using variables such as ethnicity and gender; suggestions that rather than individuals' tastes being confined to one zone, individuals from the higher social strata are now likely to incorporate tastes from a variety of genres in their cultural palette; and a questioning of the validity of Bourdieu's taste zones and assumptions of cultural hierarchy.

3.3.1. Questioning the role of social class

Several studies have attempted to test Bourdieu's theories since the publication of *Distinction*. A major enquiry into cultural tastes, knowledge and participation in 21st century Britain was underpinned by Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital (Bennett and Silva, 2006) This resulted in a confirmation of some aspects of Bourdieu's work, including a continued role in cultural taste for educational level and social division, and a questioning of other facets, suggesting the additional importance of variables such as ethnicity and age. Within this study, Savage (2006) focused on music tastes, finding that age and ethnicity in particular, together with gender, educational qualification and occupational class strongly condition taste for both musical genres and works. These findings suggest that the research proposed here needs to allow for the consideration of these additional variables.

Prier, Rosenhund and Skjott-Larsen (2008) also carried out a critical assessment of Bourdieu's cultural capital theories based on Danish survey data. They found that, echoing Bourdieu, lifestyles appeared to be socially structured, with the cultural elite preferring to distance themselves from popular taste. They did conclude, however, that cultural capital in Denmark was less strongly related to a liking for classical highbrow culture than Bourdieu's theory demonstrates. Like Bourdieu's '*Distinction*', this study used quantitative methods, as well as using existing datasets, thus giving less scope to explore issues in depth.

Katz-Gerro (1999) also uses existing data sets: in this example early 1990s American data; and a quantitative approach to examine aspects of Bourdieu's theories. She found that while occupational class still plays an important role in determining cultural tastes and leisure activities, other variables such as race, gender, education and age are more important. It should be noted that the finding of the importance of education implies a continuing role for cultural capital, although this was not highlighted in the paper. In further work, Katz-Gerro, Raz and Yaish (2007), this time using a statistical analysis of responses to telephone interviews of Jews in Israel, found that parental social position was more important than respondents' social position in shaping tastes. The authors also suggest that both ethnicity and religiosity played key roles in demarcating distinctions between highbrow and lowbrow tastes.

Bringing in a historical dimension, Bille (2008) stresses the importance of the age cohort in relation to attendance at classical concerts. Statistical analysis of Danish national data sets indicated that consumption of classical music is likely to increase over time, particularly as the individual accumulates what she terms 'consumption capital' (Bille, 2008, p. 122). Bille also suggests that the small proportion of people in their thirties and forties who attend classical concerts may be due to these age cohorts being likely to have young children at home who need looking after, thus making leisure outings of this nature more difficult.

Rather than socialisation or social class, Miles (2005) suggests the individual will be influenced by the media in their tastes, rather than by their education and upbringing as Bourdieu suggests. Mirroring this view, it could also be suggested that the individual may actually be influencing the production of art, or that audiences may be segmented for commercially-based targeting (DiMaggio, 1987).

In summary, although these studies do not tend to reject Bourdieu's social class-based

theories, most of them also suggest that other variables are as important, if not more important, than a social class approach. This research therefore needs to include the consideration of the issues mentioned above within its methodological design. Also notable is the predominance of a quantitative approach, including that of Bourdieu, to these issues of cultural taste. As (Silva, 2006) highlights: Bourdieu's heavy reliance on statistical data resulted in his field of vision being restricted and closed down the possibilities of discovering diverse cultural practices. This research project therefore proposes to use a qualitative approach.

3.3.2. Questioning Bourdieu's homology thesis

Also relying on the statistical analysis of existing data sets, in this case American surveys of 1982 and 1992, Peterson and Kern (1996) led a new movement in cultural studies. Rather than being marked by the consumption of so-called highbrow arts, as Bourdieu suggests, elites are, according to Peterson and Kern marked by their consumption of a wide range of arts genres, from highbrow to popular. Peterson and Kern named these elites 'omnivores'. This challenged Bourdieu's homology approach, that is, the assumption which assumes that a social class is associated en masse with the consumption of a particular music genre, and suggested that high-status persons are eclectic in their cultural tastes.

However, Peterson and Kern's reliance on large datasets did not allow for the confirmation that *individual* members of the high-status set each consumed a range of arts. The use of a large dataset could only show instead that members of a socio-economic group consumed a range of arts genres between them. Their assessment of the blurring of divisions only appears to be suggesting that it is about highbrow consumers expanding their consumption to include lowbrow arts forms, rather than lowbrows expanding their consumption to encompass highbrow forms.

Taking their lead from Peterson and Kern, Chan and Goldthorpe (2005) also question the existence of a cultural elite who appreciate only highbrow or 'legitimate', art as Bourdieu proposes. Again using existing data sets, this time data collected in England in 2001, Chan and Goldthorpe (2007) sought to investigate the omnivore thesis by considering data relating to attendance at music events, as well data relating to listening to music through various media. Their analysis shows that a certain set of individuals, labelled omnivores, in line with Peterson and Kern's terminology, are high consumers of every genre, being likely to attend plays and ballet as well as going to the cinema and watching pantomime. They conclude that these cultural omnivores are of generally higher social status (assessed by them by reference to the NS-SEC occupational class schema), with higher levels of education and higher income, than those of lower status who tend to only go to the cinema, and whom they term univores. They could not find evidence of a group which consumes highbrow music only (defined as opera, classical music and jazz). Indeed they suggest that these music forms have little appeal for many in higher class and status positions. They find that these people tend to follow the general population's tendency towards a taste for mainly popular music.

Although Chan and Goldthorpe reject Bourdieu's notion of class habitus, they conclude that education level plays a role in music taste, with those of higher educational attainment being more likely to be eclectic, or omnivorous, in their tastes. Like the critics of Bourdieu mentioned above, Chan and Goldthorpe suggest that other variables such as age and gender, also have an influence on music taste. Although perhaps problematic in terms of the assumption that social status increases with income and education, these ideas do raise important issues relating to Bourdieu's theories of cultural capital.

There has been support for the omnivore thesis from other quarters. Alderson, Junisbai

and Heacock (2007), performing statistical analysis on existing American data sets, conclude that the patterns that emerge are more consistent with this theory than others. However, they do not identify univores in their dataset, preferring to coin the term paucivores to signify middling engagement biased towards popular consumption, and inactives, who are unlikely to engage with any activity. Although they suggest that these findings are distinct from the Bourdieusian homology argument, they do suggest that social status is implicated in the categories, with omnivores tending to be of the highest status.

Similarly, Coulangeona and Lemel (2007), using French data, reject Bourdieu's homology theory. Although they go on to corroborate Peterson and Kern's omnivore thesis, they suggest that even this approach continues to suggest that cultural consumption remains socially stratified.

Bennett and Silva (2006) conclude that cultural consumption is also strongly related to social connections. However, they also appear to move towards acceptance of the omnivore/univore theory by suggesting that distinctions of tastes may exist within socially homogeneous groups, and that members of these groups may exhibit a tolerance for a variety of cultural items.

Later articles by colleagues within the Bennett and Silva team, offer two articles commenting on omnivorousness, which refute this move, however (Warde, Wright and Gayo-Cal, 2007). They urge caution in accepting the characterisation of the omnivore offered by Peterson and Kern and Chan and Goldthorpe. Warde, Wright and Gayo-Cal (2007) delve more deeply into the concept through qualitative interviews with identified omnivores, concluding that the omnivore cultural taste portfolio is not as open or as varied as some have suggested. These authors, instead, align the omnivore more closely with the elite of Bourdieu's schema, finding that these higher status consumers tend to

have a more intensive involvement with legitimate culture, than with popular culture, and may reject many examples of popular culture.

Although underpinned by Bourdieu's cultural capital theories, this research will also need to investigate the range of the participants' tastes in order to also consider these more recent theoretical developments. It should also be noted that this research will be collecting qualitative data relating to attendance at a festival, that is, an extended live event. This is a different proposition from studying the consumption of music in the home: indeed, as highlighted earlier, that is its attraction as a research setting. This study's qualitative approach also offers a contrast to the mainly quantitative approaches of many of the other studies and may therefore enable a deeper understanding to be gained.

3.3.3. Questioning Bourdieu's cultural hierarchies

Bourdieu is said to draw on Langer's (1969) work, as well as that of Adorno (1976 [1962]), which suggests that the appreciation of art is socially determined. Becker (1982) also emphasises the socially-constructed nature of art by suggesting that each member of an audience will receive, interpret and value a work in a different way, depending on their prior knowledge and experience. According to Frith (1990, p. 92), the instability of the meaning of 'good music' shows that social functions, not just the musical notes, are important. As an example, Frith highlights the role of the historical trajectory of music genres, such as jazz, which was first understood in commercial terms, then in folk terms, then as high art, in quick succession. In the same article, Frith uses the example of the folk festival as a demonstration of the integration of art and life, where enactment of values plays a key role alongside music-making.

Others disagree with this view, supporting Kant's (1952 [1792]) emphasis on a pure judgement of taste, being based exclusively on the autonomous form of an object.

Kant's emphasis is thought to form the basis of the 'art for arts sake' movement, that is the separateness from the social and political influences of everyday life. Butler (2004) asserts that art has intrinsic value and a higher reality than ordinary life. He emphasises pleasure as a motive for engagement with the arts, reporting a survey that found that musical passages and scenes in plays, ballet and books thrill people more than success in a competitive endeavour or than engaging in physical exercise. Although Butler accepts that a subjective, socialised element affects people's appreciation of the arts, he also proposes that an objective element is also present which results in many people admiring the same masterworks.

Investigation of Bourdieu's theories within this thesis will help to contribute to the debate on whether the arts, in this case the music at a festival, can be appreciated by the audience for its autonomous form.

Social inclusion agendas are often promoted as a feature of publicly-sponsored festivals, due the government desire to encourage everyone to try all genres of the arts (Bunting, 2005). As explained earlier, Bourdieu (1984 [1979]) classifies the arts into distinctive hierarchies, distinguishing three zones of taste.

Other theorists support a similar hierarchical division, although the labelling differs in some examples. Peterson and Kern (1996) identify 'highbrow' arts, as being represented by opera and classical music for example, as distinct from 'lowbrow' genres, exemplified by music such as bluegrass, rock and blues. Zolberg (1990) draws on Lynes' (1980 [1949]) classic essay on public taste, to review Lynes' original assignment of the arts to three social categories which he called 'highbrow', 'middlebrow' and 'lowbrow' concluding that art, along with other aspects of lifestyle such as clothing, domestic architecture and recreation, is a consumer good. Similarly, Zolberg highlights Gans' (1974) classification of the arts into high taste culture, upper-middle taste culture,

lower-middle taste culture, low taste culture and quasi-fold low culture: they treat each preference as equally valid, however.

Bennett and Silva (2006) question the validity of Bourdieu's acceptance of conventional hierarchies of the arts, agreeing with DiMaggio and Mukhtar (2004) that high arts participation may not be as important a sign of cultural capital as Bourdieu suggests. Prior (2005) also suggests that Bourdieu's divisions are looking dated and are in need of supplementation in an increasingly complex cultural present.

In an earlier paper, DiMaggio (1987) highlighted the increasing weakening of universal classifications of the arts, as well as the breakdown in hierarchies, citing the example of rock guitarist Frank Zappa's compositions being played by symphony orchestras across the world, as evidence. Silva (2006) also notes that contemporary cultural boundaries are fluid and may be combined in a variety of ways, some more, some less legitimated.

It should also be remembered, as noted previously, that Bourdieu's *'Distinction'* was situated in a specific time and place: written in the late 1970s, with the data collected in France in the 1960s. Bennett, Emmison and Frow (1999) suggest that there are issues when using Bourdieu's taste zones in a different national context. Hamilton (2007) asserts that a consideration of music aesthetic should include not just music from the Austro-German classical tradition, but also classical music from other countries, as well as popular music such as that of Billie Holliday or Bob Dylan. He recommends the rejection of what he sees as the common view of classical music as elitist, claiming that the distinction between 'art' music and popular music is relatively recent and that music today should not be divided artificially into genres. Whilst appearing to accept the division of the arts into hierarchies, Katz-Gerro's (2002) data shows that the dividing line in terms of highbrow cultural consumption is situated at the top of the class structure in Israel, the United States and Sweden, but near the bottom in Italy and

Germany.

Collins (2002) highlights the historical dimension, identifying the emergence of the Pop Art era in the 1950s as a phase when the hierarchy of tastes was shaken up and the popular, albeit 'upscale popular' (p. 29) began to be accepted as legitimate culture.

Collins sees current trends as being related to the ability of individuals to make personalised choices out of a range of consumer options, often being guided to the 'right choice' by taste-making magazines. Like Collins, Skeggs (2004) and Whiteley (1994) also highlight the use of culture as a form of legitimisation for the professional middle-class consumer, a way for them to communicate their lifestyle to others: a view aligned to Bourdieu's theories but focusing on the individual rather than the group, and acknowledging the role of commerce. Whiteley also pinpointed the appearance of Pop Art as a crucial historical moment, highlighting how purchases at the 1991 Royal Academy Pop Art Show of everyday artefacts, such as erasers, t-shirts, and so on, displaying Pop Art images, were used to increase the owners' cultural capital.

The classification of music into distinct genres and hierarchies is also seen as problematic by Oakes (2003) in his study of jazz and classical music festivals.

However, he still appears to subscribe to the concept of hierarchy. He claims that arts funding bodies in the UK do not break down musical classifications into enough sub-genres, suggesting that jazz should be aligned with classical music due to its likelihood of attracting high-earning, highly-educated professional audience segments.

This variety of interpretation of musical genres' classifications and positions in a supposed arts hierarchy also has implications for cultural capital considerations. An automatic judgement of what constitutes good taste is more difficult than Bourdieu's theories assume.

3.4. Cultural capital conclusion

This section has explained Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, including the role of habitus, objectified cultural capital, and institutionalised cultural capital. Bourdieu's taste zones were identified as grounding for the theory. It was also demonstrated that Bourdieu's cultural capital theory has attracted criticism, focusing particularly on its formation within the conditions of a particular place and time. However, despite the issues raised, it has been shown that Bourdieu's identification of the role of socialisation in the formation of cultural taste remains relevant as a basis for contemporary research.

3.5. Social capital

3.5.1. Introduction

Bourdieu (2002 [1986]) regarded social capital and cultural capital to be indivisible. This part of the review of the theoretical literature will therefore examine social capital in order to ensure that these potential overlaps and mutual reinforcements, as well as its unique contribution, are taken account of within the research framework. Unlike the concept of cultural capital, which is attributed only to Bourdieu, when considering the term social capital, it will be necessary to note the contributions of other theorists who are also seen as key to its theoretical development. As noted earlier, despite regarding social capital as one of the three capitals (economic, cultural and social) structuring the social world, Bourdieu did not develop his theory of social capital to the same extent as he did that of cultural capital. The approaches to social capital of Putnam (1995; 2000) and Coleman (1988; 1990) are also regarded as important within this theoretical area. The contributions of these two key social capital theorists, as well as the views of others who have made useful comments, will therefore be reported within this part of the literature review and assessed for their place within the theoretical framework of this thesis.

3.5.2. Defining social capital

Social capital is a broad term, with theorists interpreting and developing the concept in various ways. Woolcock (1998) stresses the importance of concentrating on the sources rather than the outcomes of social capital, tying in with the approach of this thesis. He attempts to draw together the main features from the various interpretations within the fields of sociology, politics and economics into a helpful overarching definition of social capital as:

‘...encompassing the norms and networks facilitating collective action for mutual benefit’ (Woolcock, 1998, p. 155)

Woolcock’s definition focuses on social capital at a macro level, however, whilst others, including Bourdieu, place the individual at the core of the concept, whilst stressing its relationship to other capitals:

‘The volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those agents to whom he is connected.’ (Bourdieu, 2002 [1986], p. 86)

Woolcock (1998) recommends a concentration on the sources of social capital, that is, the nature of social relationships, rather than its supposed consequences. He warns against confusing the ‘consequences’, which are said to indicate the presence of social capital, and social capital itself.

Thus, Bourdieu sees social capital as being related to membership in a group, whether family, school or class, which provides credentials. He also identifies the role of occasions, places and practices as attempts by members of the group to control the introduction of new members. Mutually recognisable signs, controlled for legitimacy by the existing members of the group, aid institution into a group. Links to cultural capital

theories are evident within Bourdieu's conception of social capital: his legitimate signs of social capital could be equated to the approved cultural goods which form part of his cultural capital theory. Recognition of these legitimate signs of social capital could be enabled by the habitus, which forms part of the cultural capital theory. The mention by Bourdieu of the role of occasions, places and practices, suggests that a role for festivals could find a place within this conceptualisation of social capital. As with cultural capital, social capital is constrained within a field, with social groups and sub-groups being organised within the field under study: in this research's case, that of the music festival.

Bourdieu's approach to social capital has met with approval from other academics.

Foley (1999) praises the clarity of Bourdieu's approach, whilst Adkins (2005) also sees his stance as providing a more appropriately systematic sociological understanding than that of Putnam or Coleman. Similarly, Portes (1998) praises Bourdieu's analysis of the concept as the most theoretically refined amongst those of recent authors, and Blackshaw and Long (2005) see Bourdieu's critical perspective as useful. Wallis, Killerby and Dollery (2004) also consider Bourdieu's and Coleman's sociological approaches as promising, commenting as well, that Putnam's work on associations has been valued by economists. However, Fine (2001) criticises Bourdieu for his emphasis on the cultural goods often associated with class, which Bourdieu identifies as being used to promote access to resources, as tainting the purity of the social capital concept.

Although showing parallels to Bourdieu's conception of social capital in its focus on the individual and their networks, Coleman's approach to the concept shows some contrasts. Whilst Bourdieu sees differential access to social capital as being shaped by historical cultural transference (the habitus), a factor over which he sees individuals as having little control, Coleman's (1988; 1990) approach brings in the conception of

rational action, albeit with social and institutional considerations superimposed. When defining social capital, Coleman places emphasis on *'the structure of relations between actors and among actors'* and on the facilitation of *'certain actions of actors within the structure'* (Coleman, 1988, p. S98). He therefore sees social capital as being lodged within the structure, or network, rather than in the individual. Also echoing Bourdieu's conception, Coleman sees social capital as productive, with the potential for the provision of economic and non-economic resources which allow the achievement of interests. He gives several examples, including the higher social capital in Jerusalem compared with Detroit, based on the views of a mother that her young children would be looked after when they went out on their own.

Putnam is seen by many as the leading social capital theorist. His book *'Bowling Alone'* (Putnam, 2000) has achieved popularity amongst the general public, as well as attracting the attention of politicians (Bunting, 2007) and scrutiny by fellow academics. Putnam concentrates on the consequences of the presence or absence of social capital at a macro level, using the aggregated results of the US General Social Survey from the previous two decades to claim that social capital had declined in the United States over the previous twenty years. His definition of social capital refers to:

'...features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit' (Putnam, 1995, p. 67)

Stocks of social capital are self-reinforcing and cumulative, according to Putnam in an early paper (Putnam, 1993). He mentions this as being the case at an individual level, with collaborations building connections and trust and then facilitating the consequence of further collaborations. However, despite this mention of the individual level of social capital, Putnam's approach concentrates primarily on the public good aspect of social capital: that is, the macro level. His social capital approach focuses on enabling

community development through the encouragement of the indirect benefits that membership of civic, leisure and religious organisations could have. He sees these organisations as encouraging the growth of civic virtue, tolerance, reciprocity and trustworthiness, as well as lessening shirking and cheating and improving health. In short, Putnam asserts that:

‘...life is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital’
(Putnam, 1995, p. 67).

Much of Putnam’s approach to social capital is not directly relevant to this study of festivals, being focused on macro impacts rather than the individuals’ experience. However, Putnam’s division of social capital into two types: bridging social capital and bonding social capital, is potentially useful for framing the examination of social activities at a festival. These two concepts are explored next in the literature review.

3.5.3. Social networks

Social networks are seen by Coleman, Putnam and Bourdieu as the conduits of social capital. Putnam (2000) specifically mentions the role of social networks in relation to arts and culture. He suggests that the arts, including carnival, can bring together diverse groups and thus promote well-being by allowing the production of mutually beneficial norms of reciprocity, generalised trust and co-operation. Alternatively, rather than sharing values, Putnam (2000) claims that arts events could be used to transcend social barriers: people may make new connections with others whom they perceive to have a different, though equally rigid set of values. This view shows synergies with the cultural policies identified in Chapter 1: Putnam is known to have met with British politician Gordon Brown, with Trevor Phillips, Chair of the UK’s Equality and Human Rights Commission, and with Bill Clinton, while he was President of the United States (Bunting, 2007).

3.5.4. Bridging and bonding social capital

Putnam (2000) identifies two styles of social capital which may characterise social networks: bridging and bonding. He explains that bonding social capital is inward looking, reinforcing exclusive identities and promoting homogeneity; whereas bridging social capital is outward looking, promoting links between diverse individuals. Putnam suggests that many groups simultaneously bond across some social dimensions and bridge across others. He sees bonding social capital as increasing solidarity with people who are already similar, bolstering the narrower self and creating strong in-group loyalty. Bridging social capital, however, links people to others who move in different circles.

Coleman (1990) regards the closure or tight bounding of social networks, a concept showing similarities to Putnam's bonding social capital, to be key to the emergence of norms and trustworthiness.

Granovetter's (1973) distinction between 'weak ties' and 'strong ties' also shows parallels to Putnam's distinctions between bridging and bonding social capital.

According to Granovetter, strong ties lead people to others who are similar to themselves, while weak ties are valuable in promoting connections to people outside the usual social orbit. Weak ties are suggested, therefore, as key to the provision of new opportunities for individuals as well as key to their integration into new communities.

Bourdieu's (1977 [1973]) descriptions of the perpetuation of social and cultural capital align closely with the concepts of bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000) and with the formation of strong ties (Granovetter, 1973). Bourdieu sees the benefits arising from membership of a select club to be made possible by its solidarity: these profits may be material profits gained via useful relationships, as well as the symbolic profit gained from being a member of a prestigious group (Bourdieu, 2002 [1986]). However,

Bourdieu's approach also highlights the potential problems of power and elitism engendered by these groups.

Social networking will therefore need to be explored at the music festivals in order to assess the role of social capital in the festival experience. Whether members of the audience see themselves as part of a prestigious group, characterised by bounded social networking as Coleman terms it, or by bonding social capital in Putnam's terminology, will need to be investigated.

3.5.5. Norms and values

The sharing of norms of behaviour and of values through networks is a key feature of social capital theories, as highlighted above, and also shows parallels with the cultural capital concept of habitus. As with habitus, Coleman (1988) identifies the family as a reinforcer of norms and thus as a source of social capital. He qualifies this, however, by suggesting that the level of social capital which a child gains from their parent will vary depending on how much attention the parent gives to the child. Coleman also suggests that the relations of the child's parents with other members of the parents' community are important in the development of a child's social capital.

Indicating a link to cultural capital theories, Halpern (2005) suggests that higher educational qualification levels result in higher levels of social capital. Completing the circle, Coleman suggests that higher levels of social capital tend to result in a child being more likely to gain a higher educational qualification level. Thus, as it was reported earlier that Bourdieu links higher educational levels to higher cultural capital levels, it could be tentatively concluded that higher social capital could result, through schooling, in higher cultural capital. This suggested link provides further justification for considering the role of both capitals in the music festival experience.

Coleman explains that norms exist at a macro-social level, but determine the behaviour

of individuals at the micro level by discouraging or encouraging an action (Coleman, 1988). Observations of people's norms of behaviour at festivals could therefore provide evidence of the role of social capital at festivals. Halpern (2005), however, warns of the dangers of characterising all of the wide variety of social norms and habits which may characterise a community as social capital. He distinguishes between the social norms governing essentially private forms of consumption, such as the supposed preference of Scotsmen for whisky compared with the preference of Frenchmen for red wine, with social norms which characterise social interactions, such as norms of reciprocity.

Following on from his previous paper, Coleman (1990) suggests that norms are facilitated by regular communication and will become weaker over time without social relationships to reinforce them. This suggests the potential importance of a festival which brings people together socially as a setting for the actioning of social capital. Bourdieu (1977 [1973]) suggests that individuals may actually attend events with the aim of sharing and intensifying their own values with others whom they perceive as like-minded: that is sharing the same group habitus. Issues of elitism may be tied to this perspective. Questioning during this research may highlight the values of the attendees and their assessments of how they fit in with others' values, helping to determine the role of social capital in the festival experience.

3.5.6. Trust

Trust is closely aligned to the components of norms and values. A close community with strong norms and homogeneous interests is likely to have higher levels of trust, according to Coleman (1990). Although Coleman (1990) focuses on exchanges between individuals, he also identifies situations where an activity of common interest may bind together a number of actors: again, a festival could perhaps be a site of exchange. He explains that this macro level system of mutual trust occurs:

'...where a number of actors ... are all engaged in an activity that produces an outcome in which all have a similar interest.' (Coleman, 1990, p. 188)

Trust is seen by Putnam to be an outcome of, as well as a contributor to, social capital. Granovetter (1973) also identifies social relations as being key to the generation of trust. Trust is generated through frequent interaction and lubricates social life, according to Putnam (2000). Also, Putnam sees higher levels of trust within a community as being likely to increase the levels of co-operation and thus build further trust. He explains that thick trust is embedded in strong and frequent inter-personal relationships, whereas thin trust is more generalised, being extended community-wide: that is, beyond personal acquaintances. Both thin trust and thick trust may be implicated in the role of social capital in the festival experience and will need investigation.

3.5.7. The downside of social capital

Although high levels of social capital have been associated with reduced crime, better health, increased tolerance for others, and good citizenship (Putnam, 2000), it should be noted that social capital is not always seen to be beneficial. Considerations of the potential downside, or drawbacks, of social capital are explored by several authors.

The exclusion of outsiders and the provision of 'club good' for favoured members; demands for conformity; excessive claims on club members; restrictions of individual freedoms; and downward levelling norms are some of the negative aspects of social capital, which are highlighted by Portes and Landolt (1996). Colclough and Sitaraman (2005) also point out that the presence of strong concentrated networks within a community, while providing support, can also limit its members' access to resources. Wallis, Killerby and Dollery (2004) also suggest that many social networks, such as those engaged in racist, criminal or violent activities, do not necessarily lead to increased social trust within the community, rather they are more likely to lead to

distrust.

Whilst admitting that bonding social capital may reinforce social stratification, Putnam (2000) points to the supposedly abundant social capital in 1950s America when segregation was often exclusionary along racial, gender and class lines. Putnam, who has the ear of politicians, queries whether it is actually possible to encourage more bridging social capital and whether, in practice, communities should settle for more bonding social capital, even if it necessitates division.

Also highlighting the downsides of social capital, Field (2003) asserts that social capital can serve to bolster inequality and privilege, echoing Bourdieu's cultural capital theories. Field also warns that bonding social capital may include connections that are not entirely a matter of choice: he says that people tend to develop bridging ties based on interests or preferences. Perhaps a music festival may then be a site for bonding social capital to develop: this will need investigation within this thesis.

Issues of exclusion and inequality are also raised by Bourdieu's emphasis on the amplification of ingrained cultural values. Healey (2004) highlights the possible augmentation of differential access to power and information which he sees as possibly being caused by groups within a social network. These issues of exclusion could be features of social capital which play a role in the music festival experience and will also need to be considered.

3.6. Critique of social capital

3.6.1. Tribes and subcultures

Social capital theories assume that individuals have stable enduring values which are used to gain entry to social networks. Maffesoli's (1996 [1988]) tribes-based perspective on the role of values is a useful critique of the social capital approach. The

display of values varies according to the ebb and flow of the dissolving and re-forming micro-groups or tribes, according to Maffesoli.

Rather than individuals aggregating into one coherent group as assumed in social and cultural capital theories, Maffesoli (1988) describes a fluid situation where a person will zip from one group, termed a tribe or neo-tribe, to another, maybe even being members of several groups simultaneously, and living collectively for the moment. Although, like Bourdieu, Maffesoli sees these groups or tribes as being constituted through shared social territories, in Maffesoli's theory the contacts are fleeting, and people may be members of a social mosaic with many allegiances. Tribe members may also be impelled by force of circumstance to move on, adjust, or lessen their level of allegiance. This research design must therefore allow for festival attendees to display collections of shifting values, rather than assuming that these are stable.

Bennett's (2000) ethnographic study of youth culture and popular music favours a view of cultural participation, where collective associations or 'subcultures' have a shifting nature often associated with the concept of lifestyle. The suggestion here is that particular social groups actively construct these lifestyles through the use of signs and symbols and that this concept is now more important than traditional socio-economic factors in the study of audiences.

An emphasis on individualism and critical engagement is also highlighted by Stolle and Hooghe (2005) as further evidence of Putnam being out of date in his assumption that civic engagement, leading to the co-operation and trust of social capital, is desirable.

3.6.2. Questioning how social capital is measured

Although this thesis does not attempt to measure social capital as an output, it is worth noting in this critique that attempts to treat social capital as a dependent variable have been methodologically flawed. Wallis, Killerby and Dollery (2004) criticise Putnam's

approach for its attempts to include a large number of disparate components, each of which are not themselves measurable. This emphasis on aggregated indices, or even on single proxies such as using only membership of civic associations, can also result in considerable loss of the data's subjective context, according to the authors. Edwards and Foley (2001) also criticise Putnam's methodology, singling out Putnam's claim in relation to a scatterplot correlating educational scores with social capital. Putnam's suggestions that better educational outcomes in the state of North Carolina could be gained by increasing the electoral turnout by 50%, boosting church attendance by two or more times a month, or doubling the frequency of club or meeting attendance, meet with Edwards and Foley's incredulity. They, and others (Healey, 2004), also criticise his statistical technique of using twelve highly intercorrelated control variables in a multivariate regression of a data set which contained only fifty cases.

Others have questioned Putnam's conclusion that social capital had declined in the second part of the twentieth century, citing their own examples which showed the opposite. Questioning by some was based on measurement issues in Putnam's method, such as on the inadequacy of the definition of the independent variables (Thomson, 2005).

Koniordos (2008) also highlights Putnam's emphasis on formal participation in voluntary organisations as key to social capital measurement, whilst ignoring informal social activities. Similarly, Stolle and Hooghe (2005) highlight the lack of inclusion of newer forms of participation and interaction within the measurement criteria, which they say are replacing the traditional forms.

On a more general note, (Healey, 2004) highlights the difficulty of identifying and measuring the extent of shared norms and social contact within a community, as well as the problems of distinguishing between what might be bonding or bridging links. He

regards the complexity of the social processes at work in any given context as providing further measurement problems.

3.6.3. Questioning the conceptualisation of social capital

Bourdieu's and Coleman's concentration on a micro, individual view of social capital is seen by Wallis, Killerby and Dollery (2004) as more realistic than the macro view of Putnam. Edwards and Foley (2001) criticise Putnam for over-inflating the concept of social capital, seeing Bourdieu's and Coleman's, among others', approaches as being more appropriate context-dependent sociological perspectives. Koniordos (2008), whilst approving of Coleman's treatment of social capital as providing individuals with benefits through the bonds of community, criticises Putnam for extending the concept to the level of being the property of an organisation or a community.

Mouritsen (2003) criticises the ways in which Putnam draws, for his conceptualisation of social capital, on De Tocqueville (1966 [1840]), a theorist whom Putnam highlights as one of his key influences. Mouritsen contrasts Putnam's portrayal of social capital as a generalised, all-purpose resource and his inflated notion of the supposed positive aspects of social capital, with De Tocqueville's acceptance of the ambiguities of civic space and of the demanding nature of trust and solidarity.

Portes and Landolt (1996) also criticise Putnam's conceptualisation of social capital. They conclude that Putnam's confusion of the sources of social capital with the benefits derived from them results in a circular reasoning. To illustrate this they suggest that Putnam's assumption that students who obtain the money to attend college have higher social capital than those who don't ignores the possibility that the students who don't attend college may still have strong social capital: it may just be that their social networks do not include people with the money to finance their college degree.

The circularity of Putnam's theoretical conception was also an accusation of Thomson

(2005). She wondered whether people who are more trusting tend to join more diverse organisations and so increase trust, whereas those who are less trusting tend to join more homogeneous groups, which may decrease trust. Thomson also questioned Putnam's assumption that participation in a local community group was the only way in which benefits to society could be generated.

Complaints about Putnam's conflation of the terms community and social capital are made by some authors (Colclough and Sitaraman, 2005; Etzioni, 2001). Colclough and Sitaraman, for example, point out that it is unclear whether Putnam is saying that social capital leads to community, or vice versa. They worry that the rationalised aspects of social capital may actually be a threat to community building, as well as observing that social networks may be diffused across community boundaries.

3.7. Social capital conclusion

This section of the review of the theoretical literature has highlighted the concept of social capital, which is used as a theoretical underpinning within the thesis alongside cultural capital. The approaches of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, identified as the three key social capital theorists, were compared and contrasted. The generally agreed components of social capital: social networks, norms and values, and trust, were explored further. The possible downsides of social capital, including exclusion and elitism were also highlighted. Finally, critique of the conceptualisation and application of the concept by the theorists was reported. This critique discovered that Putnam's approach to social capital was problematic in various ways, and that the approach of Bourdieu and Coleman is therefore preferable for this study. Putnam's concepts of bridging and bonding social capital were highlighted as potentially useful, however. The particular problems of measuring social capital were highlighted. However, this thesis concentrates on the role of social capital in the festival experience, thus avoiding many

of the measurement pitfalls. This thesis also concentrates on social capital at the individual level, thus also avoiding the criticisms of the problems of examining the concept at a macro scale.

3.8. Conclusion of the review of the theoretical literature

This review of the literature has demonstrated that the theoretical concepts of social and cultural capital are appropriate to underpin this study. Together they offer sufficient complexity to frame the exploration of a range of social and cultural issues in relation to festivals, including the role of habitus, elitism, hierarchies of music and social inter-relationships, and the ways in which these are inter-related.

Bourdieu has been identified as the key theorist of cultural capital, and also as having produced a respected and credible approach to a theory of social capital. Coleman's contribution to social capital was also identified as worthy of consideration. Putnam's approach was found to be largely inappropriate for this study, however, both for its emphasis on the macro scale and its methodological problems. However, Putnam's concepts of bridging and bonding social capital within social networks were shown to be useful in their highlighting of the different types of relationships between individuals which may be in operation at festivals. It was thus confirmed that Bourdieu's cultural capital theory and Bourdieu's approach to the theory of social capital, with Coleman providing additional input, would be useful as underpinning this thesis' data collection and analysis. Putnam's conceptualisation of social capital, whilst not appropriate to this thesis, would be drawn on for its useful emphasis on the different forms of social connections which may be in evidence at a music festival.

3.9. The research question

The two literature review chapters have together shown that there is scope for further

research into the social and cultural experiences of individual festival attendees. The theories of social and cultural capital have been shown to be inter-related and suitable to underpin the festival research gap.

The research question which directs this research is therefore:

‘What is the role of social and cultural capital in the music festival experience?’

The two main theoretical concepts are Bourdieu’s (1984 [1979]) concept of cultural capital, which matches cultural competence to social class, upbringing and education; and the related concept of social capital (Bourdieu, 2002 [1986]; Putnam, 2000), which emphasises the capital gained from social networking with potentially useful contacts.

The two concepts are inter-linked. For example, there is potential for individuals’ cultural capital to enable social networking and thus the development of social capital. Intensifying this link, social networking contacts may also influence the development of cultural capital by encouraging individuals to engage in cultural activities.

Although this research is driven by the theories of social and cultural capital, it is important to bear in mind other separate theories, which may provide alternative or complementary explanations for social and cultural behaviours at festivals. These include Turner’s (1969) and Van Gennep’s (1969 [1908]) concept of liminality, and Lefebvre’s (1991 [1947]) theories of intensification, which will be used to consider the effect on individuals that the provision by a festival has of ‘time out’ from day to day life. Maffesoli’s (1996 [1988]) tribes-based perspective on social and cultural tribes, and Bennett’s (1999) concept of a sub-culture, will highlight the possibility of fluid tastes for festival genres. Meanwhile, Peterson and Kern’s (1996) omnivore and univore concepts will suggest an alternative relationship between social class and festival-related music taste to that of Bourdieu’s theories.

Chapter 4: Methodological design

4. Introduction

This chapter sets out the research methodology of this thesis. In order to discover the role of social and cultural capital in the music festival experience, this study used an ethnographic case study approach which enabled a multi-layered study of the research question. The ethnographic methods included screening questionnaires, observations and document examination as well as in-depth interviews after the festivals. The fieldwork equipment is listed in Appendix 1.

The research setting for the exploration of these theories was the music festival. Several features of music festivals make their consideration of particular interest. These include their emphasis on the concentration in time of a range of live performances, and their tendency to temporarily transform spaces not usually used for cultural purposes.

Purposive sampling identified three festivals which were used as the case settings.

These festivals were aligned in terms of features such as scale, funding streams and that they attracted visitors to stay away from home, but varied in terms of musical content.

The aim of the thesis necessitated an investigation into the cultural practices and social activities of individual festival attendees. Further purposive sampling identified 219 festival attendees as screened participants. From these, eleven interviewees from each festival, a total of 33, were selected for the follow-up in-depth interviews.

The interview content was fully transcribed. A content analysis, using NVivo software, aiming to identify key themes was carried out on the transcribed interview recordings.

Observations and the examination of printed and electronic documents were also used to provide further insights. Critical discourse analysis techniques (Fairclough, 2003) were then used to examine the key themes in the interview texts as well as to analyse the

observations and documents in more detail.

The aim is to make a contribution to the theoretical field which underpins the research as well as to highlight the study's potential to contribute to cultural policy development.

4.1. The ethnographic case study approach

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) see ethnography as characteristically involving the researcher watching what happens, listening to what is said and asking questions in order to throw light on the research issues. Echoing this, Silverman (2006) describes ethnography as an attempt to answer the question of what is going on in a particular situation and recommends that the observer looks, listens and records. An ethnographic approach was therefore appropriate as a starting point for the exploration of the signs and symbols of social and cultural capital in the festival settings, with the researcher taking the role of participant observer. This approach was intended to provide a useful contrast to the mainly quantitative approaches favoured by Putnam and Bourdieu.

Delamont (2004) extends ethnography to include talking more formally to the observed populations to capture what they are thinking and saying about their world. Like Hammersley and Silverman, O'Leary (2004) also suggests that ethnographic studies involve the exploration of cultural groups within natural settings. Like Delamont, however, she recommends that in order to build a rich picture, it will be necessary to use a variety of tools as part of ethnography, including observation, interviews and document analysis. O'Leary does not exclude the possibility of also using questionnaire surveys to collect data within an ethnographic study. O'Leary suggests that this broader approach to ethnography is particularly appropriate as a methodology for the exploration of values, beliefs and practices as well as for the investigation of symbols and norms and for building an understanding of the participants' views. Yin (2003) also highlights the strength of using multiple sources of evidence, including documents,

interviews, physical artefacts and participant observations. However, rather than regarding these as tools for triangulation, as Yin suggests, this study treated them as providing access to the variety of social action which constituted the research setting. A multi-method ethnographic approach in all its richness, including the use of questionnaires, observations, documents and in-depth interviews, was therefore employed to explore the 'how' question of this thesis.

Yin's preference for using a case study approach to understand 'how' or 'why' questions chimes with Hammersley's suggestion of the ethnographer usually focusing on a small number of settings. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) prefer to distinguish between a setting as a context within which various angles of a phenomenon may be studied, and the cases which may be contained within the setting. He warns, however, that it may also be necessary to collect information on cases from outside the boundaries of the setting too. Yin argues that analytical benefits will be gained from researching two or more cases in order to strengthen the validity of the findings through allowing for the possibilities of replication within different contexts. This thesis used a two level approach: the thirty-three individuals may each be regarded as case studies in their own right, whilst the three festivals at which they were recruited provided three contrasting settings. Thus, the possibility of enhancing validity was conferred.

4.2. The role of the in-depth interview

Supporting the value of accessing the views of the individual as part of the case study, Stake (1995) explains that the case setting, that is the festival in this study, will not be seen in the same way by each individual. The interview is therefore a way of gaining access to the descriptions and interpretations of others and thus portraying the multiple views of the case setting. For this thesis, to gain insight into the perspectives of festival attendees, individuals were interviewed after the festivals using a semi-structured

approach.

Stake suggests that the most effective way of gaining a useful interview is to plan carefully. The interviewer should devise a short list of issue-oriented questions to ensure that the data relating to the research question is collected, whilst still allowing for each interviewee to tell their unique story. The questions should be formulated to encourage description and explanation, rather than a yes or no answer, and possible probes should also be anticipated and planned for. According to Stake, a pilot interview should be undertaken which will help to test out and further shape the questions: this was done as part of this thesis as reported later in this chapter. Although, according to Stake, understanding what the interviewee meant is more important than capturing their exact words, in this study attention was paid to the participants' discourse to also allow examination of the ways in which they express their views as a key to understanding their viewpoint.

Kvale's 'traveller' perspective on interviewing was also a useful guide to the methodology used in this study. Rather than seeking to unearth objective facts waiting to be discovered, as in the 'miner' metaphor described by Kvale (1996, p. 3), Kvale suggests that a 'traveller' metaphor is more appropriate to the qualitative interview. Kvale explains that the traveller style is based upon the idea of the interviewer wandering through a landscape entering into conversations with the people encountered and then telling a tale on returning home. Kvale's traveller may follow a method in the form of a route that leads to a goal but will allow the interviewees to tell their own stories of their own lived world. Kvale suggests that an approach somewhere between completely free spontaneity and rigid structures is the most useful for the qualitative interview. The aim was therefore to describe and understand the meanings of themes of the lived world from the subject's own perspectives.

4.3. Research perspective

Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (2002) highlight the need for the researcher to be clear about their research perspective in order to ensure validity. Taking a lead from Bourdieu (1977) and concurring with Bhasker's (1989), Atkinson's (2004) and Porter's (1995) standpoints, this research project took a critical realist research perspective. It assumed that although the festival site was a real objective space, each individual festival visitor constructed themselves in a particular way in relation to the festival setting.

In Bourdieu's world, a field is a real and objective structured space which forms the backdrop to the activities and interactions of people (Johnson, 1993). For this study, festivals as a genre were identified as the Bourdieusian field, with each individual festival being seen as part of a second layer field. Using Bourdieu's perspective it can be accepted that festivals are real events, set in tangible locations, with physically present artistes, audiences and artefacts. However, Bourdieu (1984 [1979]) suggests it is important to also highlight the cognitive operations used by agents to decipher these tangible locations. Bourdieu (1999) asserts that a realist construction is the most appropriate perspective from which to uncover the complexity of the individuals' actions and reactions to the realities of the field.

Fairclough (2003), whose critical discourse analysis approach was used to analyse the thesis data, as will be explained later, also favours a realist perspective. He explains that concrete social events, slightly more abstract social practices, and abstract social structures are all part of reality. However, he notes that the researcher's view of the analysed texts will never be complete and definitive.

Brewer (2000) explains that critical realism assumes that structures are 'real' and that they constrain or enable agency by providing a framework for people's actions. Thus

the structures are reproduced and transformed by human agency. Porter (1995) links a critical realist perspective with ethnography, asserting that the point of ethnography is to investigate the relationship between social action and social structure. He favours this viewpoint rather than the naturalistic perspective of Hammersley and Silverman. It should be noted that interviews in this thesis were not regarded as examples of 'truth', as in the positivist perspective, but treated as occasions when the participants construct themselves in a particular way (Atkinson and Coffey, 2002).

4.4. Generalisation

Mason (2002) considers it to be important that qualitative researchers produce explanations which have a wider resonance and are generalisable in some way. Stake (1995), however, suggests that case studies should be seen as intrinsically interesting with the first criterion being to maximise what can be learned from that particular case. Payne and Williams (2005) suggest that a limited type of generalisation is most appropriate to qualitative research and is a more pragmatic approach than the total rejection of generalisation by some who favour an interpretive approach and the total statistically-based generalisation advocated by others. Payne and Williams recommend that generalisation claims are moderated in qualitative studies to maintain credibility by focusing on basic patterns or tendencies and that the constraints on generalisation are always included as part of the analytical discussion. Payne and Williams' advice was followed in this thesis.

4.5. Ethical issues

The dignity and welfare of the people being researched is of paramount importance (O'Leary, 2004). As recommended by O'Leary, the power of the researcher, as potentially perceived by the participant, was recognised as a possible effect on the responses gained from the participants. Education level, age, gender, social status and

the status of the organisation represented were all recognised by the researcher as potential issues: respect, sensitivity and tact were always used.

No emotional or psychological harm was deliberately invoked and utmost care was taken to avoid causing distress or discomfort. Festival attendees varied substantially in their characteristics, and questions which touched on age, ethnicity, and educational levels or related to social class were handled with sensitivity for the respondents' feelings. The data was accurately and fully collected and reported. Permission to conduct the research in the manner adopted was gained from The Open University Ethics Committee.

The interviewees were fully informed about the nature of the research project and their role. They were given the right to anonymity, and offered the chance to be able to discontinue their involvement if they chose to do so at a later date. Gaining informed consent to collect the screening data from the participants, who were recruited by face to face methods at two of the festivals studied, needed care. For the screening stage, the prepared information sheets (see Appendix 2) needed to inform participants about the project and their rights in enough detail for them to be able to consent to take part and have their details stored. Interviewees recruited via the postal screening survey for the third festival were given written details within the mailing about the project (see Appendix 3) and how their details would be stored and used and also asked to indicate on the questionnaire their agreement to the storage of their details.

At the interview stage, the selected interviewees were sent a further copy of the information sheet and an informed consent form (Appendix 4) before the interview to allow them time to study them closely. The form was then discussed and collected (or confirmed verbally or by email for telephone interviews) at the beginning of the interview. The form also gave the option of separately giving or refusing permission for

the recording of the interview. The interviewees were promised, and given, anonymity in the thesis by the use of pseudonyms and the non-inclusion of characteristics which could have led to their identification.

Although interviewees were fully informed about the project, the festival audiences who were being observed did not usually know that a researcher, particularly someone who appeared to be participating in the festival in the same way in which they were, was drawing conclusions about them from their dress or behaviour. Brewer (2000) points out that covert methods of this sort can cause serious ethical dangers. However, all observations of this sort were carried out in public places where people were already aware that they were likely to be observed, no attempt was made to manipulate their behaviour in any way or to cause them harm, and the observed attendees are not individually identifiable within this thesis.

Gaining permission from festival organisers was a necessary stage of the data collection. Although the festival organisers were given basic details about the project and the final results will be reported to them, it was important not to allow them to influence the research process in any way. Contact was therefore kept to a minimum: indeed one of the conditions of carrying out the research given by the directors was that it did not take up any of their time. As Brewer (2000) suggests when discussing the similar role of sponsors or funders, the researcher should provide information or explanation and not be required to reach certain conclusions. The issue of anonymity was discussed with the festival organisers, and none of the three was insistent on complete anonymity, being realistic about identifying features of the programme and setting.

The safety of the researcher was also considered. As a lot of the research, particularly the observations, was carried out at festivals which were in public places where security

features and procedures were in place, the researcher was assumed to be reasonably safe in these locations. However, care was taken when conducting the post-festival interviews, whose locations varied and included the participants' homes, pubs, cafés, a park and a museum. It was ensured that others knew of the researcher's whereabouts and the timing of the interview visit so that the researcher's visit could be monitored.

4.6. Risk analysis

A risk analysis was conducted before the data collection phase began (see Appendix 5). This included a consideration of anything which might possibly go wrong during data collection. A key factor regarding risk was that the chosen festivals only occurred once during the year and for a limited time period, so it was imperative that data collection took place during the event. The risk analysis included issues such as weather conditions, researcher illness, and equipment problems and suggested how to prepare for the eventuality and possible solutions. No serious issues were encountered however.

4.7. Sampling

This thesis focuses on the individual within the context of the field of music festivals as the most appropriate unit via which to gain insight into the role of social and cultural capital in the music festival experience. As it was not practical, given the resources available, nor even desirable, to study all music festivals and all individuals, it was necessary to make choices about where and on whom to focus by using a process of sampling.

The sampling took the form of three stages. First the three festivals were selected. Next a purposefully-selected screening sample of potential interviewees was collected using brief questionnaires. Finally a set of interviewees representative of the features of the screening sample were selected. Issues around sampling are discussed below.

4.7.1. The sampling approach

To promote generalisability in a qualitative approach, (Silverman, 2006) suggests two approaches to sampling: purposive and theoretical. Purposive sampling is guided by time and resources and emphasises the selection of a case on the basis of its illustration of some feature or process which is of interest. Stake (1995) explains this technique by suggesting that a typology of the possible types of cases should be set up, then a practical decision made in terms of the time and resources available for the study.

O'Leary (2004) gives a range of possible criteria for choosing the cases: they may be considered typical, they may show wide variety, they may be politically important, or they may allow a range of possibilities.

Theoretical sampling emphasises the role of the proposed theory in the selection of the sample cases. Mason (2002) explains that relevant criteria may be the particular processes, types, categories or examples which appear within the theoretical universe: the task will be to choose typical examples of these. Mason also warns against choosing a case which the researcher sees as likely to support the argument: choosing a 'deviant case' is sometimes more useful when assessing a hypothesis. Purposive sampling for this thesis attempted to capture a representative range of typical audience characteristics. As the sample was small, characteristics of extreme deviance were avoided.

Sampling for this thesis was guided by the theory explained in Chapter 2, so has theoretical underpinnings. The aim was to study variations in social capital and cultural capital and their role in the music festival experience. When selecting the festival settings other features relating to sampling festivals were aimed to be kept as constant across the three festivals as possible. When selecting the individuals at the festivals, the aim was to provide a spread of demographic and other characteristics amongst the

interviewees which roughly reflected the spread of these characteristics amongst the audience at that festival.

4.7.2. Selecting the festivals

O'Leary (2004) explains that the first step in sampling is to be able to name the population and its unit of analysis, using the research question as a guide. She suggests brainstorming the ideas, assumptions and expectations in relation to the research question and the proposed sample, being careful to control for unwitting bias and erroneous assumptions.

The sampling population at this level was identified as all music festivals. Identification was confirmed by the title and marketing documentation of the event itself. Data to identify the characteristics of the population of festivals were collected from web sites.

As the research rationale included consideration of the politics and funding issues involved in staging music festivals, the broad population of all music festivals was narrowed down further. The narrowed population focused on music festivals in England with some element of public funding. This narrowing provided the potential for a consistent political and funding environment.

From a research scheduling point of view, for data collection purposes, the festivals also needed to occur in the summer of 2007 and be reasonably spaced out in time. This then enabled the researcher to attend all three as well as to conduct the interviews relating to that festival in between. Although the timing was very tight, the schedule completion was achieved by the researcher.

The festivals were regarded as pools of individuals, with the aim being to select three festivals which, as a set, provided the opportunity of recruiting participants with a wide range of social and cultural capitals. It was accepted that supposed music stratifications

shift continuously and that many music festivals include a range of music genres. However, the aim was to select three festivals which appeared to define their content within a fairly tight genre range in order to be confident that the three together provided access to aficionados of a range of genres. Three events which prioritised three different music genres were therefore selected: an opera festival (OperaFest), a pop/rock festival (PopFest) and a folk festival (FolkFest).

The festival variations not being studied needed to be minimised as far as possible so that they could be discounted as influencing the outcome of the research. As suggested by O'Leary (2004), the factors of variation for music festivals were first identified. These comprised: scale (number of daily visitors), time span, location type, and funding source. The aim was to choose three festivals of different genres which matched as closely as possible on the other characteristics.

Drawing on the theory explained in Chapter 2, Turner's (1969) theories of liminality were considered when selecting the desired time span of festivals. In order to study festival attendees who were immersed in the event, festivals which offered the chance to experience the festival over a period of at least three days in a location removed from the attendee's home were identified. All three festivals lasted at least three days: PopFest was three days and FolkFest was four days. Although OperaFest actually lasted seventeen days, it was programmed in event groups of three or four days which included a repeat of the main operas on a rolling basis. To align the OperaFest sample more closely in timing terms with those of PopFest and FolkFest, one of the selection criteria for the participants was that they had attended for three or four days. This selection was also vindicated by the finding of the screening questionnaire that three to five days were the peak attendance spans of the screened participants.

Brewer (2000) recommends consideration of the timing of the access to the case,

stressing that the length of time the researcher spends in the field needs to be long enough to experience and understand the full range of behaviours being investigated in a sample of the events and activities. The scale of the selected festivals, therefore, needed to be large enough to provide a range of social interaction opportunities for the audience, and thus data collection opportunities for the researcher. They also needed to be small enough to be manageable in terms of researcher access to the range of venues used for the festival. The three festivals chosen matched each other roughly in scale, being all relatively small in terms of numbers of visitors to paid events per day, with each festival attracting around four to five thousand visitors on a peak day.

Brewer (2000) highlights additional criteria for choosing a research case, including accessibility (permission and geographical) and the possibility for the researcher to participate in the activities without standing out. Also, again guided by theories of liminality, it was decided for this study that the events of each chosen festival should be situated within a concentrated area so that the participant was likely to have remained in one accommodation venue. The key was to aim for an assurance that participants would feel that they were attending a coherent festival, even if there were a range of venues within a town, for example.

As Brewer (2000) recommends, permission was gained from the festival organisers in all three cases so that the participants could be reassured and the researcher could pursue her data collection without being worried about causing security concerns. Geographically, all three festivals were accessible to the researcher, each being within around two hour's drive from her home. The festival locations were also easily accessible to visitors, being matched on their urban locations, and within easy reach of public transport. FolkFest and OperaFest were integrated into their town-based locations, with venues dotted around the towns. Although PopFest was on a single site,

with multiple venues enclosed within the site: the site itself was also within an urban location.

Although blending in at a case site may be useful in allowing covert observation, like Brewer, Spradley (1979) notes that being unfamiliar with a field can help researchers to stop taking things for granted, ensuring that they do not ignore things which those who are over-familiar with a site may not recognise as significant. Spradley does warn, however, that a balance is necessary: if differences are too great, the field work can become overwhelming. The three festivals chosen were assessed as all being sites where the researcher could blend in, and indeed she made an effort in terms of dress and behaviour to maximise the appearance of integration. However, the researcher had not visited the sites, nor indeed any other music festival, before the research was planned, so that events were not taken for granted. It is acknowledged, however, that the researcher's perspective would have affected the ways in which events were perceived. Observations were carried out by the researcher at a number of festivals during the early planning stages to help in the formulation of the research question and to get a feel for festival events. These pre-planning festivals ranged from community-based events to large scale international festivals and provided a useful orientation to the issues involved. No interviews were conducted during the events, although one of the pilot participants had attended one of the observed festivals.

Table 1 summarises the criteria used to select the three festivals and details how the final selection of three festivals fit with these.

Table 1: The festivals sample

<i>Festival name</i>	<i>Musical genres included</i>	<i>Public funding streams</i>	<i>Type of location</i>	<i>Attracts visitors to stay there away from home</i>	<i>Lasts at least 3 days</i>	<i>Scale: estimated total attendees on peak day at paid events</i>	<i>Permission for access attained</i>	<i>Researcher blend in</i>
FolkFest	Folk music, folk dance	Local town and District Councils, Arts Council	Multiple venues within a town centre	Yes	Yes	3,500	Yes	Yes
OperaFest	Mostly opera, some classical, some literature talks	Borough Council, Arts Council	Multiple venues within a town centre	Yes	Yes	2,500	Yes	Yes
PopFest	Mostly indie-pop, some folk, blues, electronica, rock	City Council, BBC	Multiple stages within an enclosed site in an urban setting	Yes	Yes	4,500	Yes	Yes

4.7.3. Selecting the participants

The participants were purposefully selected by the researcher with the aim of ensuring that the spread of selected interviewee characteristics aligned as far as possible with the spread of relevant identifiable variables within the audience of each festival. This entailed a two stage selection process: a one-page questionnaire administered to purposefully selected attendees collected basic demographic and attendance details to enable an indication of audience characteristics to be gained. From the analysed questionnaires, a sample of potential interviewees which reflected the broad make-up of the audience was selected. Response rates at all stages were very high. (see Table 2).

Stage 1: Screening the festival attendees

Stake (1995) suggests taking the chance to make a quiet entry to a case, giving the opportunity to become familiar with the people, the spaces, the schedules and the possible problems. This approach was used to gain an initial impression of the range of festival visitors at FolkFest and PopFest before approaches were made. Potential interviewees were then selected for screening with a view to reflecting roughly the features discernible by observation at the festivals, including age, gender and ethnicity. Although people who met the visually assessed pre-screening criteria were the highest priority, others were not ruled out, as visual techniques cannot cover all elements. Screening interviews were usually kept short, although in some cases they turned into mini interviews which gave useful background on the screened participant which was noted by the researcher afterwards on the participant's screening questionnaire sheet. A clipboard and Open University badge identified the researcher to indicate purpose and give reassurance.

Recruitment took place at a range of festival locations to ensure that there was a chance

of screening people whose preference was to stay at certain venues within the festival. Tactics included recruiting people as they sat taking refreshments, sometimes after striking up a casual conversation; approaching people drinking in bar areas; asking people sitting in adjacent seats after a performance; standing at a 'thoroughfare' and stopping people as they passed; and roaming around the campsite and approaching people sitting outside their tents. All of these tactics were successful in gaining screening recruits.

The screening of OperaFest attendees was accomplished by a mailing due to the restriction on face-to-face recruitment enforced by the festival organizers. The festival organisers arranged for address labels to be provided by the Box Office, which was not under their direct control, so the detail of the requests for participants had to be kept to a minimum to ensure co-operation. The address labels were then stuck on envelopes by the researcher within the festival office to give reassurance that the participants' personal information would not be used for any other purposes. For the mailing, the criteria requested by the researcher for the selection of festival attendees was that the purchaser did not live within the festival town and had purchased tickets for at least three consecutive events within that year's festival.

The content of the screening questionnaire for all three festivals was almost identical, (see Appendices 6 and 7). An information sheet (see Appendix 2) was offered to the face-to-face recruits at PopFest and FolkFest. Appendix 8 also sets out the style of the introduction used by the researcher when approaching potential screening participants in the field. A letter of explanation (see Appendix 3) was included with the questionnaire in the OperaFest mailing, as well as a stamped envelope addressed to the researcher for the return of the questionnaire.

An initial check before the questionnaire was administered to FolkFest and PopFest

recruits mirrored that of the OperaFest mailing criteria. This check comprised questions on the length of time spent at the festival (those not staying at least three days were immediately rejected), and whether they were staying ‘on site’ or not (those who were not staying on site were immediately rejected). Coloured wrist bands at PopFest and visible ‘season tickets’ at FolkFest were a useful guide to both of these criteria so that most targets were already confirmed as fulfilling these two basic criteria. Other variables included in the screening questionnaire were home town, age within an age banding, current or most recent occupation, highest level of educational qualifications, and whether or not they had children living at home. Each of these was driven by theoretical considerations. Finally, the screened participants were asked whether they would be prepared to take part in a further interview and if so, their contact details were obtained. Fifty screening questionnaires were collected at FolkFest, forty-five at PopFest, and 112 questionnaires were mailed to OperaFest targets. Three refusals were given at FolkFest, giving a response rate of 94%, nine refusals were obtained at PopFest, giving a response rate of 83% and 75 questionnaires were returned by OperaFest targets, giving a response rate of 67% (see Table 2). As explained above, only 32 of the 75 OperaFest screening respondents met the required criteria to match FolkFest and PopFest attendees, of attending for three or four days, with 24 of these agreeing to a follow-up interview. However, the capture of a full range of festival attendees helped the researcher to gain an overview of the audience characteristics. The overview also enabled a confirmation that three to five days were the peak lengths of attendance (see Figure 1 earlier).

Table 2: Screening response rates

Festival	Number of people approached / mailed for screening	Number of people agreed to screening	% success rates of screenings	Number of screenings who agreed to be interviewed if required	% success rates of interview agreements
FolkFest	53	50	94%	43	86%
OperaFest	112	75	67%	60	80%
PopFest	54	45	83%	38	84%
TOTAL	219	170	81 %	141	83 %

Stage 2: Identifying the interviewees from the screening data

The final results of the screenings had provided, via screening methods appropriate to that festival, a set of potential interviewees from each festival. These sets matched each other on the length of time the recruits had spent at the festival and that all of the recruits were resident at the festival and away from home.

The screening data from each of the festivals was next scrutinised in order to identify the distribution of respondent characteristics across the questionnaire variables of qualification level (see Figure 1), age (see Figure 2), geographic area of residence, family stage and occupation. The final choice of interviewees was selected with the aim of reflecting, as closely as possible with such a small sample, the characteristics spread of the screened set for each festival. The characteristics of the participants, labelled by their pseudonym, are set out in Appendix 9.

Through this carefully constructed robust screening and selection process, it had therefore been made possible to use the selected thirty-three individuals to inform this thesis with confidence. This final set was able to provide an insight representative of the

attendees at a range of festivals into the role of social and cultural capital in the festival experience.

Figure 1: Screened participants' highest qualification level

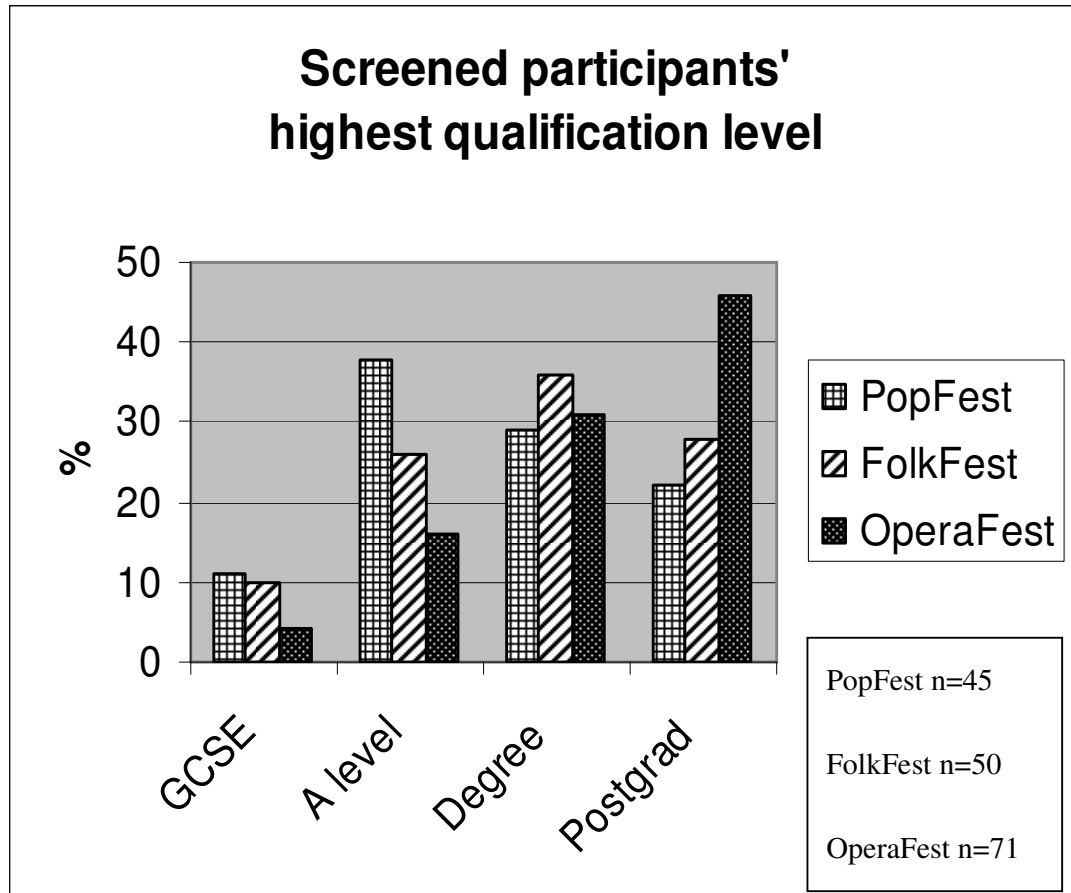
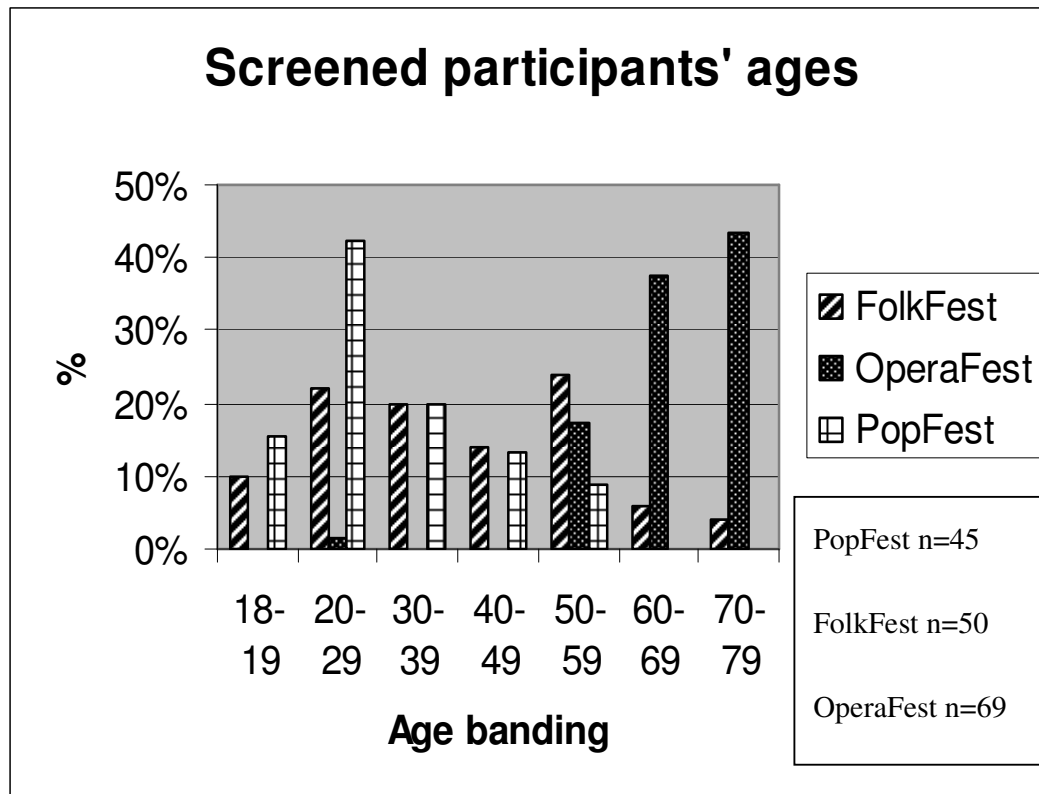


Figure 2: Screened participants' ages

4.8. Piloting the research instrument

The aim of the pilot phase of the research project was to assess the appropriateness of the interview schedule in terms of the flow of the questioning, the clarity for the participant of the questions, the timing of the interview, the technique of the interviewer (from the point of view of the interviewee as well as self-assessment) and the ease of handling the interview schedule for the interviewer. The aim was also to assess whether the interview outputs appeared to be providing useful data to assist the researcher in answering the research question by allowing the researcher to experiment with data analysis techniques.

4.8.1. The pilot participants

Five pilot participants, who had recently attended a festival, were recruited: three through an advert placed on the Open University's intranet, one through a snowball contact with a fellow student and one through a contact the researcher had met at a festival attended in 2006. The pilot participants were as follows: Harold: a 68 year old, semi-retired, white British male who had attended the Buxton Festival; Paul: a 45 year old, white Irish male student, who had attended the Folk on the Green Festival in Milton Keynes; Janet, a 48 year old white British female who worked as a Personal Assistant and had attended the Frieze Art Fair; Catherine, a 27 year old, white British female, who worked as an editor and had attended the Cambridge Film Festival and the Wickerman Festival in the Scottish Borders; Meena, a 26 year old female, British Asian student who had attended the Ben & Jerry's Sundae Festival in London. In terms of social class, Harold described himself as middle class, Paul as middle with working class roots, Janet as lower middle class, Catherine as 'classless intelligentsia', which she admitted made her solid middle class and Meena described herself as working class. These five therefore gave, as far as possible with such a small sample, a reasonable spread of gender, social class, age, occupation and ethnicity as well as providing the chance to assess the music festival experience at a range of types of festival. The addition of a younger person might have been helpful as well as someone from the upper classes.

4.8.2. The pilot interview locations

The settings of the interviews were also varied in order to assess whether this made any difference to the data gathering process. Harold was interviewed after an informal lunch in his home town in a public setting to which the interviewer travelled, Meena was interviewed by telephone and the other three participants were interviewed in meeting rooms at the Open University, where they all worked.

The meeting room locations were the best locations in terms of recording quality and comfort. Both the participants and the researcher were on 'home territory' in these locations, which gave a head start to rapport building. Having lunch and a chat with Harold before the formal interview was helpful as an ice-breaker, as he and the researcher had met only once before. This did take additional time though, so a whole day was needed by the researcher for the lunch and the journey to the meeting place, although only around three hours was needed by the participant.

Although convenient in terms of time and location, the telephone interview meant that there was no opportunity to gain a visual impression of Meena. This method did give the useful chance to practise and assess the process of telephone interviewing, however. Interviewing by telephone was found to be more difficult for the researcher than face to face interviewing in terms of building rapport, especially as she had not met or spoken to the participant before. The audibility level was quite low for both the participant and the researcher, possibly due to the call being conducted from a speaker phone to a mobile. Encouraging noises were more difficult to interject and nods were, of course, not visible. However, the length of the interview was the same as the face to face ones and the data collected did not appear to differ in quality.

4.8.3. Assessment of the pilot interview process

As well as being asked the questions from the semi-structured interview schedule in more or less the order they were prescribed, the participants were also asked for their feedback on the interview process at the end of the session: whether they found the questioning easy to understand, whether they were comfortable with the type of questions being asked, whether any of the questions seemed bizarre and whether they had any further suggestions. None of the participants reported any concerns of this nature and confirmed that they found the questions helpful in encouraging them to talk

about their experiences. Several said that they enjoyed the interview. The timing seemed to be about right. Catherine's was the longest at sixty minutes in total as she was talking about two festivals, while Paul's was the shortest at forty minutes, partly because he had subsequent commitments pending. To take any longer than an hour would probably have been too onerous for both interviewee and researcher as both Catherine and the researcher were flagging towards the end of her hour-long interview. It was concluded that it would also perhaps be too much, in stamina terms, for the researcher to undertake more than two interviews of this type in one day, particularly if travelling were also involved.

Various issues were identified by the researcher in terms of the interview process itself.

The interview schedule was designed to give a fairly defined, though not completely prescriptive structure to the interview, which was helpful in keeping the participants talking. However, a review of the transcripts suggested that there may have been too much structure and not enough openness to the questions, as in some areas it seemed that only limited factual information was gleaned of the type which could just have easily have been collected by questionnaire. The value of an interview is usually to encourage more in-depth and richer description and analysis by the interviewee, although this can depend on how 'talkative' the interviewee is. The temptation to the interviewer is to skip on to the next question rather than to make the effort to fully explore each issue and probe for more detail, although this does need to be handled carefully to avoid a 'grilling' feel. There is also a danger in semi-structured interviews, where the precise wording of the questions is varied by the interviewer each time, of asking 'leading' questions which encourage the interviewee to answer in the way which they suppose the interviewer requires: real skill is needed to guard against this.

Alternatively it can sometimes be helpful to ask 'confirming' style questions to clarify a previous statement. It can also be difficult to get 'under the surface' of an interviewee,

particularly in the case of people describing their ‘cultural capital’ as that in itself is perhaps partly what ‘cultural capital’ is all about: presenting a positive image (Silva and Wright, 2005). These reflexive observations were helpful in adjusting the wording of the interview schedule and preparing for the main interviews and analysis.

The researcher found the interview schedule relatively easy to handle: the division of the schedule into sections gave the chance to break up the interview when giving a resume of what was to come next. The researcher also concluded that this phasing could be used in future interviews to check back over the previous section to ensure that all the questions had been covered. As some of the questions were asked out of sequence in order to follow up on issues that arose, it was felt that some way of marking what had been asked would have been useful. Ticking off questions during the interview did not feel appropriate when tried in Janet’s interview as it seemed to disturb the flow as well as distract both the researcher and the participant and give a more formal feel to the proceedings instead of the conversational style aimed at. It was concluded that, as the researcher became more familiar with the interview schedule, however, that physical marking off to ensure coverage would not be needed: this proved to be the case.

The researcher’s presentation of herself also needed to be considered: was an office smart look more appropriate or more of an ‘arty’ look, or something else again? The ‘office smart’ look was employed in Catherine’s interview which was perhaps the wrong look for interviewing someone who confided that she wished she could look smarter, while the more ‘arty’ look of the researcher seemed more appropriate for interviewing the flamboyantly dressed Janet. Perhaps a slightly smarter look would have been better for the meeting with Harold, who was wearing a jacket and tie, although comfort on a long journey had been a consideration. It was certainly apparent that it did make a difference to how the researcher felt in the interview (a more arty look

made the researcher feel more ‘qualified’ to be asking arts-related questions), although the effect on the interviewees was difficult to assess. Researcher dress was therefore considered when preparing for the main study face to face interviews.

4.8.4. Pilot study ethics

All of the pilot participants were emailed the informed consent form (see Appendix 4) before the interview. The four face-to-face participants returned a signed copy on the day, while the telephone interviewee confirmed her agreement verbally. There appeared to be no problem with the participants’ understanding of their rights.

To preserve their anonymity, the interviewees were all given pseudonyms. These had to be chosen carefully to align with the real names, ages, ethnicities and social classes of the participant.

4.8.5. Pilot interview transcription

The digitally recorded interviews were transcribed fully by the researcher in preparation for a detailed discourse analysis. Harold’s interview was most problematic as it was conducted in a public place with some background noise so a few phrases were indecipherable. The names of artists, musicians, galleries and so on sometimes needed to be checked online if the researcher was not familiar with them. More familiarity on the part of the researcher with a wide range of the arts would perhaps have been helpful, although as the interviewee was expecting to do most of the talking it was not really an issue during the conversations.

The transcripts were then loaded into NVivo and analysed thematically. The theoretical grounding was a starting point for this, although some additional themes were added inductively. The data showed a rich collection of discourse on social and cultural capital related issues as well as some interesting stories about the respondents’ cultural taste

development.

4.8.6. Pilot data analysis: initial impressions

It was apparent that, although some cross interview analysis would be possible using some of the themes as starting points, the participants would also have to be treated as individual case studies. The case study approach would allow a study of the individual's taste development by allowing an examination of their current tastes compared with their early arts experiences: that is a concentration on cultural capital.

Social networking featured strongly as a motivation for attending their festival for all of the participants, although the emphasis was very much on 'bonding' with people they knew already rather than forming new friendships with people they met there by chance. Although home and school did seem to provide a germ for future cultural taste development as Bourdieu suggests, for four out of the five pilot participants, the major catalyst for the establishment of lasting tastes occurred at around the age of eighteen, usually as a result of the influence of a friend or work colleague. Exclusivity came out as another major theme which could be related to cultural capital, although this seemed to be just as likely to be associated with attendance at a small 'popular' music festival as a so-called 'high art' opera festival. The language of intense emotion was used frequently when describing the festivals and their events as well as a discourse of fun, neither of which feature in social and cultural capital literature. While Catherine appeared to be strongly conscious of personal image, altering her dress according to fit in with the 'tribe' as Maffesoli suggests, the other four participants appeared to maintain their own style of dress regardless of their destination, claiming to feel comfortable in the festival environment they had chosen to visit.

Although a full detailed discourse analysis was not carried out on the pilot data, the initial signs were that the findings of the main study were going to be very interesting,

as was indeed proved. The decision to focus on festivals was also vindicated by these pilot interviews: although some of the festivals were several months before, the participants had no trouble recalling them, giving the impression to the researcher that they were a significant event in their lives and therefore worthy of special attention.

4.9. Collecting the main data

4.9.1. Documents

Documents were examined relating to the three research festivals as well as documents relating to other festivals for comparison. Individual festival websites, as well as websites such as www.efestivals.com, www.folkandroots.com and www.operabase.com, which provided overviews of a range of festivals, were used in the early stages of the research to identify suitable festivals to approach for access permission. Newspaper pull-outs such as the Independent's '50 best summer festivals' guide (Jones, 2007) were also taken note of.

Once the three festivals had been confirmed as the data collection locations, further exploration of the festival website was undertaken. Background information including the timings, performers, venues, history and funding streams was collected. The websites gave the researcher a social and cultural flavour of the festivals, through their use of photographs, the style of presentation and the textual content.

Once at the festivals, the festival programme was obtained. Each festival had produced a programme in a different style, which again provided data for this thesis. The PopFest programme was included in the price of the festival ticket and was designed to fit in a pocket. It contained promotional-style details about the performers, a map and a timetable overview. The FolkFest programme cost £2.50 and was an A5 booklet, containing a basic performance listing and a lot of adverts. The OperaFest programme

cost £10 and was a 160-page A4 glossy, full-colour, in-depth guide to the performances. OperaFest attendees who preferred not to purchase the full guide could instead use the A4 typed sheets of basic details available at each performance or the free guide sent out on request to identify tickets for purchase. Very few, if any, flyers or other documents were in evidence at the festivals or within their vicinity.

4.9.2. Observations

Observations at festival sites and examination of festival-related electronic and hard-copy documents provided data on observable social and cultural practices. The researcher attended each festival for three or four days, staying in the same type of accommodation as most of the resident festival attendees. This was camping in a tent at PopFest and FolkFest and staying in a bed and breakfast for OperaFest. Observations were made of the interviewees' dress and other visible features (Goffman, 1969 [1959]) and, for the interviews which took place in their home, the cultural artefacts within their home environment. Observation of the given off signs relating to the festival attendees in evidence at a particular site gave clues to their norms of behaviour, demographics, and personal style tendencies as well as to the characteristics of the social networking taking place at the festivals. To build up a picture of the festival field, observations of the festival sites and surroundings included taking note of venue signs and symbols, artefacts, site layout, circulation norms, security procedures, atmosphere, appeals to the senses and so on.

The weather was an issue when collecting observation data. The weather at PopFest was warm and sunny which was ideal for sitting outside on the grassy areas making observations and also enabled easy scrutiny of the coloured wrist-bands which indicated the attendees' residential status. FolkFest weather was warm and sunny on the first evening, when the researcher made the most of being able to approach people relaxing

by their tents, having recently arrived and pitched. However, the following days were wet and stormy and observations had to be conducted inside the various venues. The weather for OperaFest was also mostly wet so observations were also conducted mostly indoors. Indoor observations were slightly more difficult due to the issue of getting far enough from a festival feature to make notes unobtrusively. Note-taking was therefore not always possible at the time of observation so notes sometimes had to be written up later. Additional notes were also written up at the end of each day.

The schedule in Appendix 10 gave a semi-structured guide to note-taking when conducting observations in the field, although free-style notes were also taken. The observation schedule was used particularly to give structure to observations of audiences. The structure encouraged the systematic observation of rows of people rather than being tempted to only observe those people who looked unusual or striking. The observation schedule was guided by the theoretical underpinnings of the study. Observations were carried out in a range of venues and locations at each festival to ensure a spread of data.

Informal conversations were also held with festival attendees when the opportunity arose. The researcher wore an Open University badge while involved in approaching potential interviewees for screening so was also identifiable as a researcher by many, but not all, of the people with whom informal chats were held. The researcher usually identified herself as such when a chat became extended, although the timing of the disclosure was sometimes difficult to gauge. There were no adverse reactions to this disclosure.

The researcher was new to music festival attendance which meant that it was possible for her to remain slightly removed rather than completely immersed in the event. This perspective meant that things were not taken for granted and notes were made on as

many observed practices as possible. It also enabled the researcher to build up a sense of the many facets of the festival and its visitors, whilst probably appearing to others to be an immersed 'insider', but still feeling more of an 'outsider' with her own perspective.

As with any event, observation of all the happenings was not going to be possible due to their sheer variety and volume. However, attempts were made to carry out observations at a range of locations within each of the festival environments and at different times of the day and evening. No problems were encountered when conducting observations.

4.9.3. Interviews

Interviews were conducted with thirty-three festival attendees, eleven from each festival. Their characteristics are identified in Appendix 9. The researcher reflected on whether this number of interviews would be appropriate as the data collection progressed and decided that discursive patterns were emerging and being repeated, indicating that the data collected would be sufficient to consider the theories. Once the thirty-three targets had been interviewed, a review and discussion with research colleagues confirmed that the collected data appeared to be sufficient to enable an in-depth exploration of the research question, as indeed this proved to be the case.

The interviews were conducted after the festivals, either face-to-face in a location at or near to their home, or for six interviewees, by telephone, according to the interviewees' preferences and geographical access constraints. Face to face interviews were pressed for by the researcher where at all possible, and were achieved for 27 of the interviewees.

Conducting the interviews in non-festival locations enabled the interviewees to reflect on their full festival experience without the potential distraction of being still immersed in the event. Scheduling the interview for after the festival also enabled the discovery of data relating to the immediate post-festival phase. This scheduling approach also allowed a larger number of interviews to be carried out without being constrained by the

timing of the festivals or the festival event commitments of the interviewees. As discovered in the pilot phase, to undertake more than two full interviews per day would have been difficult from a stamina, engagement and concentration point of view. As the shortest festival only lasted three days, this would have meant that, at best, only six interviews could have been accomplished and would also have given less time for observations and informal chats. As can be seen by perusal of the map in Appendix 11, the interviewees were spread across the country, with a slightly more dense distribution in the Midlands, reflective of the location of the festivals. This geographical spread also made it more difficult to attempt more than two interviews per day.

The use of telephone interviews for six of the interviewees meant that rapport building was more difficult through not being able to make eye contact and assessment of personal style was not possible. The recordings were of sufficient quality as the researcher had upgraded the equipment following the pilot telephone interview.

Face to face interviews also needed consideration. The researcher was aware of personal safety issues when interviewing in homes and always ensured that others knew of her whereabouts. When not conducted in the interviewee's home, finding a suitable location without too much background noise and with enough privacy, whilst still in a public location was occasionally difficult but always achieved. Pre-interview sound checks revealed previously un-noticed noise interference which necessitated a location change in two instances. The researcher ensured that her dress was neutral and appropriate to the interview location and any known interviewee style. A balance between formality and rapport was aimed at.

The interview themes were designed to bring out the role of a participant's social and cultural capital in their festival experience. The questions were therefore rooted in the theory detailed in Chapter 3. The interviewees were asked about their experiences of

and views on the festival and the other festival guests; their cultural tastes in general, focusing particularly on music tastes; and basic demographic details. The interview schedule in Appendix 12 gave a semi-structured guide when conducting the full interviews with the identified participants after the festivals. With several of the interviewees, the conversation was extended informally either before or after the interview, which sometimes gave the researcher further data on which to draw, but was more usually just an aid to rapport building.

Although the same semi-structured interview schedule was used for each interview, the interviews varied in length from forty-five to ninety minutes, depending on how voluble the interviewee was and how effective the researcher was at encouraging them to talk. The interview schedule was completed in all cases, however.

The researcher was not particularly familiar with opera, classical music, folk music or indie-pop, before the research began. Although her knowledge was built substantially as the research progressed, her naïve attitude to the music genres was never a problem. Indeed it was sometimes even an advantage, as suggested by Kvale (1996), as it was then possible to ask for further clarification from the interviewees if necessary.

4.10. Analysing the data

This thesis uses a two stage analytical process, at both stages being guided by the research question, as well as by the underlying theory. This analytical strategy is informed by Yin (2003) and Silverman (2006). Yin (2003) recommends that playing with the data at an early stage may be fruitful, although he says that the ideal manner of proceeding is to use theoretical propositions to steer the analytical strategy. According to Silverman (2006), the possibilities of deep analysis of bodies of data form the distinctive contribution of qualitative research. He maintains that a simple coding of data is insufficient to demonstrate the assembly of the theoretically-defined elements.

After fully transcribing the interviews, the data was coded. The transcription was verbatim. Pauses which interrupted the natural flow of speech were noted but not timed and are represented where appropriate in this thesis using [~]. Where the quotes used in this thesis are separated by other interviewee comments, the symbol [_] is used. The fine details of every single sound, utterance, or stutter (for example) are not included. As this analysis was focusing on discursive themes and the broader structure of the talk, this level of detail was not required. Coding into thematic categories using NVivo software formed the first stage of the analysis (see Appendix 13). It enabled the review and initial organisation of the data, as well as the identification of key themes. This was followed by the second stage: a deep analysis, as recommended by Silverman (2006). This thesis uses critical discourse analysis Fairclough (2003) to accomplish this stage. This thorough analysis allowed the research question to be explored in all its facets and provides further assurance of reliable and valid conclusions having been reached.

4.10.1. Why critical discourse analysis?

Discourse analysis is relevant to theory-building in the social sciences by uncovering how social life is accomplished through talk (Wetherell, Taylor and Yates, 2001). According to Wetherell, Taylor and Yates, discourse research may be used to study naturally occurring events, as well as discursive events, such as interviews, set up by the researcher. Their assertion that contemporary societies are increasingly mediated by discourse makes this type of analysis of particular relevance to a study of social and cultural aspects of contemporary music festivals. The use of a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach also reflects the critical realist perspective of this thesis, which was explained earlier. This is because CDA acknowledges as significant non-discursive, material elements which exist beyond the text but which also feature within it. Within CDA, therefore, the non-discursive can be analysed, which is of particular value when

studying cultural capital issues. This is in contrast to more post-structural approaches, such as that of Potter and Wetherell (1987) whose analysis does not go beyond the boundaries of the text itself. The acknowledgement by critical discourse analysts that there is no absolute 'truth' in discourse, ties in with the critical realist's acknowledgement of the variety of individual perspectives. Acknowledging that viewpoints differ, discourse analysis focuses on how the discovery of pattern and order in discourse can make a contribution to theory.

Discourse analysis includes a range of traditions, each with its own focus and methods, and each appropriate for particular types of study. The traditions vary from a very fine grained approach which analyses the specific features of utterances, phrases, clauses, interactions and turn taking in conversations; to broad historical approaches which compare the content of institutionally produced texts over time. For example, Kress (2001) uses a sociolinguistics approach, analysing the linguistic aspects of discourse and its social effects. Similarly, conversation analysis (Silverman, 2001) analyses the ways in which people co-ordinate their activities in talk, through the analysis of turn taking (Heritage, 2001; Silverman, 2001). In contrast Foucauldian and Bakhtinian (Hall, 2001; Maybin, 2001) approaches to discourse analysis are concerned with historical origins of meanings, with Foucault connecting these to issues of power. Aligned to social psychology, Potter and Wetherell (1987) develop the post-structurally inspired analysis of 'interpretative repertoires'. Focusing on the internal construction of texts, interpretative repertoires are lexicons of ideas, themes and linguistic devices used by speakers to make their accounts of the world appear solid, factual and stable.

Having considered many alternative approaches to discourse analysis, some of which are described above, critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003) was selected as the analytical method. There are three sets of reasons for this choice. The first set of reasons

concerns the pragmatic, empirical concerns of the research question. Because of its critical realist epistemology, CDA enables non-discursive as well as discursive features are able to be included in the analysis. Within the discussion of social and cultural capital in the festival setting, it is entirely possible that material culture and other symbols (such as clothing styles) would be relevant to the interviewees. Thus an analytical method was needed which would allow for this possibility. Moreover, the focus of CDA on the accomplishment of 'style' through talk was deemed a particularly appropriate tool. Whilst a more detailed description of style is provided later on, style broadly relates to the accomplishment of individual identities through talk. This is deemed an essential inclusion in the discussion of social and cultural capital within a setting such as the music festival, as personal disposition was expected to form at least some of the reasons for festival attendance.

The second set of reasons concern the close reliance of Fairclough on the work of Bourdieu in constructing the method. In *Analysing Discourse*, Fairclough draws upon Bourdieu's research, indicating a resonance between their perspectives. First, Fairclough highlights Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' (Fairclough, 2003) as relevant to a person's disposition to act and talk in certain ways based upon socialisation. Fairclough suggests that different groups of people, in different social positions, will use a range of alternative and competing discourses to demonstrate their different perspectives on social events. These discourses will refer to the processes, places and social actors related to these events. Secondly, later in the same book, Fairclough suggests that Bourdieu and Wacquant's (2001) paper, which draws on the role of vocabulary for its methodology is orientated to a study of texts but would have benefited from the contribution of discourse analysts. Fairclough comments that, just as Bourdieu's research can enhance critical discourse analysis, the use of critical discourse analysis could also have enhanced Bourdieu and Wacquant's research. Thirdly,

Fairclough aligns his focus on social practices and their shifting networks to Bourdieu's structuring of societies in terms of social fields and their interconnections. This partnering inspires the use of a critical discourse analysis approach.

The third set of reasons takes its inspiration from the way in which Bourdieu portrays the inter-relationship of social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2002 [1986]). According to Bourdieu, styles of being, speaking and doing, as well as the appropriation of cultural goods as symbolic goods, all of which are features of his concept of cultural capital, are important in underpinning social relationships, or social capital. The particular focus of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis method on styles and symbolic goods therefore enables the links between cultural capital, social capital and festivals to be examined.

Other approaches were rejected for the following reasons. A decision that data would be most appropriately collected via in-depth interviews ruled out conversation analysis as a technique due to its emphasis on naturally occurring conversation. Moreover, the broad cultural and social-capital themes which were expected to emerge would not be easily identified using such a method. The lengthy and rich data which were to be collected would make conversation analysis impractical. The positivist leanings of conversation analysis and sociolinguistics were also not appropriate for the research question.

Similarly, the orientation of Foucauldian discourse analysis to printed historical documents did not lend itself to an examination of a contemporary festival and related interviews. Potter and Wetherell's (1987) approach was ruled out because of its exclusive focus on the discursive organization of the text and its non-inclusion of other material, non-discursive elements.

4.10.2. Conducting critical discourse analysis

Fairclough's (2003) critical discourse analysis approach is a broad ranging, multi-faceted and comprehensive approach to the analysis of texts. Fairclough sees texts in

terms of the different discourses (ways of representing), genres (ways of acting) and styles (ways of being) they articulate together (Fairclough, 2003, p. 25). Texts are seen by Fairclough to have three types of meaning. First, they include 'action', in the sense of the interviewee informing the researcher, perhaps about his or her festival activities. Secondly, they include 'representation', where relations between entities are presented, such as perhaps linking music taste with festival experience. Thirdly, they include identification, where a commitment, such as to a particular festival or type of music, is given. A range of genres provided the texts for this study: interviews, observations, personal artefacts and documents. A genre provides the framework for the structure of a text, providing the rules of grammatical construction, speech function and type of exchange. Following Fairclough's lead, this thesis uses the term texts in a very broad sense. The texts analysed for this thesis were predominantly the transcripts of the in-depth interviews with the thirty-three participants. Additional texts, such as festival programmes and festival and performer websites were examined in order to gain prior understanding of the material festival field. The transcripts gave an insight into the individuals' perspectives on social and cultural capitals and festival experience.

Avowedly critical realist in stance, this study will focus on three inter-linked concepts which will be used to analyse the data: orders of discourse, discourses and styles. CDA uses the identification of the 'orders of discourse' which feature within a text as its crux. Within each 'order of discourse' can be found competing and complementary 'discourses', which enable the text (in this case, the interview text), to be read as accomplishing something within a particular social order. In the current study, the accomplishment is a robust description by the interviewee of the reasons for their festival attendance, and the details of their social practices as a festival attendee.

An 'order of discourse' represents the discursive facet of a particular set of social

practices within a particular social order. This is the most appropriate for several reasons. Within the interview data, one might expect different discursive facets relating to the social practice of festival attendance to emerge within the social order of the festival. The extent to which these discursive facets relate to social and cultural capital themes will enable the results of the CDA to address the research question. This is because the identification of different ‘orders of discourse’ within the talk will enable the social practices of festival attendance to be analysed and interpreted in terms of how they relate to or reflect underlying social and cultural capital themes present in theory.

When broken down into their constituent parts, ‘orders of discourse’ comprise competing and complementary ‘discourses’. According to Fairclough, discourses are specific ways of representing aspects of the material, mental and social world. A ‘discourse’ thus constitutes a particular social practice but within the historical, political and institutional contexts of a social order. Interviewees will be deemed to be constituting the social practice in which they engage (that is, festival attendance) by using different discourses from within varying orders of discourse. As such, specific ways of talking about the festival experience within broader orders of discourse which relate to it will be expected to emerge. According to Fairclough, focusing on ‘discourses’ enables the researcher to access the rich and diverse aspects of the material, mental and social world. The processes, relations and structures of the material world, such as feature in a festival setting, with its related attributes, play a part in discourses. The thoughts, feelings and beliefs of the mental world are key features: these will be reflected in festival attendees’ viewpoints. Different perspectives will be portrayed by the different discourses, representing imaginary and possible worlds, as well as actual worlds.

The analytical strength of a focus on discourses is that patterns, similarities and

differences in their use, between participants and between festivals, will reveal much about the role of social and cultural capital in the festival experience. It is expected that patterns and commonalities will be found when analysing discourses, in the sense that they may be shared by people rather than be individualistic, and be stable over time.

This thesis also follows Potter and Wetherell's (1987) advice on how to go about identifying discourses. They stress that there is no mechanical procedure, comparable to analysing survey data, for discourse analysis. They highlight the key to successful analysis as being to keep in mind the broad theoretical framework, in this study, that of social and cultural capital relating to festivals. The importance of careful reading and re-reading, rather than skimming for gist as in general academic reading, was also accepted as advice.

Finally, CDA assumes that the deployment of different discourses by speakers within an order of discourses enables the speaker to accomplish something for themselves. For individual speakers, the deployment of different discourse enables them to achieve different social and personal 'styles' as well as establish their social relationships with other people. Fairclough's 'styles' are the discourse-related processes of the identification of a person by themselves and the identification of others by that person. Within the context of festivals, people may style themselves in relation to the music genre of the festival, for example; or in relation to their fellow festival attendees. Identification is also textured by the extent to which people commit themselves to an idea or report, that is, the modality; as well as by the values to which people commit themselves, that is evaluation. The analysis of texts in this thesis demonstrates how the employment of an order of discourse relates to the display of values and thus the enactment of a participant's style. This enacted style can effectively position the social actor in relation to social or cultural capital.

Fairclough (2003) provides a useful checklist which was used to steer the analysis for this study. This checklist summarises the questions which need to be asked when identifying discourses, genres and styles in texts and non-discursive elements. It advises the study of issues around social events and their representation; considerations of any orientation to difference or similarity; as well as a consideration of the vocabulary, patterns of co-occurrence of words, metaphors, assumptions and grammatical features used. The choices made by the social actors in their exclusions and inclusions, the pronouns or nouns they used and whether they referred to specific or generic representations are also usefully recommended for assessment. Modality constructions are suggested as helpful in judging the sincerity of participants' comments.

Once evidence for the discourses, genres and styles had been found, using Fairclough's checklist, Potter and Wetherell's advice was again drawn on to validate the findings. An assessment of coherence was undertaken, as they suggest. This assessment examines how the orders of discourse fit together, with broad patterns explained, micro-sequences accounted for and exceptions identified. A further assessment of whether the participants' orientations to the orders of discourse were consistent and of whether the analytic scheme was fruitful in generating explanations was then carried out. The social and cultural capital-related orders of discourses identified for this study were therefore confirmed as valid.

In conclusion, therefore, a critical discourse analysis approach, with its emphasis on discourses, genres and styles, as well as its critical standpoint, offered rich possibilities for the analysis of data relating to social and cultural capital within the context of festivals. The outputs of the discourse analysis will be presented later in this thesis and used to inform the conclusions.

4.11. Presentation of the data chapters

The empirical data of this research project, including the transcripts of the interviews with participants, as well as the observations made by the researcher of the festival settings and festival visitors, will be examined in the next three chapters. The views and experiences of the participants, as well as the observations made by the researcher, will be examined in order to explore and confirm the key issues emerging from this research. These key issues will then be analysed further in Chapter 8 before the final conclusions are drawn in Chapter 9.

A festival by festival report of the systematic observations made will be reported in Chapter 5. The content of Chapters 6 and 7 is directed by an *a priori* coding of the interview texts based on the themes identified in the literature reviews of Chapters 2 and 3. A list of coding nodes, including the frequencies of mentions, is set out in Appendix 13. This was used to provide an indication of the relative importance of the content of the different nodes and helped in the derivation of the orders of discourse detailed in Chapter 8.

The first data chapter, Chapter 5, will therefore explore the festivals' settings and the appearance and social interactions of the festival visitors. The second data chapter, Chapter 6, will examine the participants' views on festivals and their content, with a particular focus on their experience of the festivals under study. The third data chapter, Chapter 7, will explore the interviewees' accounts of their life landscapes in relation to the shaping of their music taste.

Chapter 5: Exploration of the festival settings

5. Introduction

Based on participant observations by the researcher at the three festivals, this section aims to give a flavour of the settings, from the researcher's position, in which the research participants exercised their social and cultural capitals. This section will also provide data on the appearances, ages and social activities of the festival visitors who were present at the time in these habitats. This chapter will therefore provide an alternative perspective to that of the interviewees.

Some of the observed settings were festival performance spaces, which varied from those which were already arts-related venues and others which were transformed into festival spaces specifically for the events. Other settings were non-performance spaces, such as refreshment locales, places of temporary dwelling, or circulation areas, some of which had been taken over by the festival and others which were in the vicinity of the festival and used by festival visitors. Of the three festivals studied, both OperaFest and FolkFest took place in a range of arts and non-arts venues within small towns, whilst PopFest was conducted within an enclosed greenfield site, part of which included an indoor arts venue, in an urban setting within walking distance of local shops and pubs. Festival visitors were therefore not only interacting with each other within the designated festival spaces, but were also sharing space with non-festival-related visitors or local residents, in other spaces.

5.1. FolkFest

FolkFest was spread over the town in a range of venues, including pubs, church and civic halls, and a leisure centre. An outdoor arena with tiered seating, tented craft stalls, and food and coffee tents, was set out along the riverside and open to the public.

Festival attendees also ate in the numerous restaurants and pubs around the town.

The two campsites, one for mainly tents and one for caravans only, were a key component of FolkFest space, with ten out of the eleven interviewees resident on one of these sites during the festival. Observations by the researcher at the tented campsite, where she was based, revealed a mixture of small dome-style tents for one or two people and large family tents complete with full 'kitchen' facilities. Cars were mostly small and several years old, although a large Audi A6 complete with personalized number-plate was also observed. There were several obvious groupings of tents: one was surrounded by bunting and complete with a 'welcome' banner over the 'entrance' to the grouping denoting the name of a Morris dancing 'side'. A glance into the central area of the enclave gave glimpses of people of various ages sitting around on camping chairs, some playing musical instruments, most singing along. Another noticeable tent grouping, one tent complete with a 'folk is cool' inscription, was gathered around a gazebo, and occupied by people in their late teens and early twenties - a group of around fifty 'mates', according to one screened participant. Further evidence of the tendency towards spatial groupings at the campsite was gained as the researcher searched for a camping spot on arrival. She was apologetically directed away from the first choice due to the prospective neighbour claiming that he wanted to save the spots near to his tent as he was expecting a large number of friends to pitch there. Similarly, a lady who arrived alone first checked whether friends were expected to pitch in the space neighbouring the researcher's tent before she pitched her own next door. A comment was also heard from another camper who complained that the previous year his tent had been surrounded by teenagers in little tents who did not seem to go to sleep all weekend.

The mood was calm and purposeful on the Friday afternoon as the festival proper started, with people pitching their tents, fetching water and asking each other the way to

various facilities. Fiddle and guitar music wafted around. Later in the afternoon there were groups of people relaxing outside tents, or standing around in groups, drinking, eating, chatting and singing along to guitars. Friendly greetings were commonplace, including to the researcher, particularly from neighbouring campers, as well as general chat about the water being hot in the toilet blocks, for example. Conversations between people who obviously already knew each other were going on all around. Reference was made to earlier festivals, such as by one man, apparently referring to his acquaintance's former role as a performer, asking another if they were ordinary punters this time, gaining the reply 'oh yes, we even bought a ticket', to be rejoined by 'oh that must have hurt'.

The researcher's next destination on the Friday evening was the 'Welcome' social dance at a community hall. This revealed a dance floor completely full of around two hundred people, all apparently over the age of forty and most probably aged sixty or more, dancing in sets. The bar area was small and relatively deserted, with the occasional foray by a dancer to purchase rounds of drinks. The dancing females tended to be wearing skirts and flat lace-up shoes, with the males in smart shirts and smart trousers, although one or two colourful t-shirts were in evidence. The mood was upbeat, chatty and happy.

Saturday morning saw an Appalachian dance display in a marquee, which had been set up in the back yard of a public house. A stage supported the band, and wooden floorboards, covering most of the middle of the marquee and surrounded by two rows of fold-up chairs, supported the dancing display. This event had attracted a great range of ages and group sizes, including at least one local family, apparently grandparents, a mother and two young children who were identified as such when the researcher approached the mother as a potential interviewee. Notable dress styles included a man

in his mid-fifties sporting grey straggly hair pulled back into a ponytail and another in a waxed leather drover's hat.

Another public house, visited in the afternoon, provided several spaces for folk festival events. There, Morris dancers were displaying their talents in the front car park, watched by a large crowd of drinkers; a sing-around session was taking place in a pub back room, comprising mostly people in their forties to sixties with several beards in evidence; and there was a barbeque area behind the pub adjoined by a barn, which was jam packed with musicians and from which more musicians were spilling out, almost all of them playing along on their fiddles, tin whistles, guitars and melodeons. One group in the barbeque area stood out as being dressed, in contrast to most of the outfits round about, in 'golf-club' style: chinos and short-sleeved shirts for the men, smart jeans, casual jackets and styled hair for the women. One of their members, Kath, was subsequently chosen as an interviewee, her comments being reported later in this thesis.

FolkFest provided an outdoor venue which was open to anyone to walk through, giving local people and festival guests the chance to browse tents full of crafts, musical instruments and cds, as well as to watch displays of dancing for free. Potential participants approached in this area revealed a number of locals who were attending just for the day or even half a day, as well as others not interested in the festival but just walking through the area on their way to the town centre.

Several of the town's restaurants were full during the early evening, although a table was obtained at the Indian restaurant in the town, which soon filled up with folk festival visitors, complete with programmes and festival passes dangling around their necks. A set of around twenty Molly dancers, arriving in several small groups, in matching costumes including the blacked up faces of the tradition, were also found a large table upstairs.

The main concerts of FolkFest, featuring the professional or semi-professional performers, took place each evening in a large indoor sports-hall with wooden floorboards and rows of around 500 fold-up chairs facing a stage. People also stood or sat on the floor around the edges at times when all the chairs were occupied. Audience members were allowed in and out of the hall between songs so there was a fair amount of circulation. Admission was only open to those with full weekend or day 'season' festival tickets so all members of the audience were, by definition, festival attendees. The audience comprised predominantly couples in their forties and fifties. Jeans, fleeces and hand-knitted cardigans were in evidence.

Next door to the concert hall was the dance hall where dance displays and workshops took place during the day, and the 'late-night' ceilidhs, starting at 9pm, took place. There was an atmosphere of excitement in the changing rooms, as the ceilidh start-time approached, with teenaged girls getting ready in what they appeared to regard as their best partying outfits and make-up, with much black clothing, piercings and tattoos on display. The dance hall itself was full of people who seemed to be having fun: around two hundred people dancing in sets to the kilted caller and the high energy ten-piece band, which featured drums, saxophones and trombones, as well as the more usual folk fiddles. Ages ranged from six to seventy and clothing was casual and comfortable, and included skirts and dresses, strappy tops, jeans, t-shirts and shorts. Plaits and buns were common hairstyles for the women and ponytails were in evidence amongst the men and the women. Excited chatter emanated from the three hundred or so people watching from the packed tiered seating round the edges.

Although several teenagers were in the audience attracted by the chance to ask questions and listen to the music of a young band in the stone pub barn mentioned earlier, the audience tended to be predominantly in their forties to sixties. Three

teenaged girls on the front row were all dressed in black hooded sweatshirts and jeans and sported very dark hair and eye make-up. A waxed leather drover's hat, more pony tails – both men and women – and more grey straggly hair was also spotted amongst the audience members.

The final FolkFest observation venue was devoted to acoustic music and was an old meeting hall with battered wooden floorboards and vinyl or fold-up wooden chairs.

Refreshments were available in a neighbouring room. Audience members were expected to join in with the singing: most knew the words.

In summary, although there was a spectrum of ages in evidence at FolkFest, the ages of people at each individual event were usually narrower in range. Dress was not generally 'smart' or even 'smart casual', although the teenaged girls attending the late night ceilidhs were 'dressed up', and dress at the social dance tended to be more on the smart casual side. Hair was generally 'natural' in colour, and often un-styled, although ponytails and other means of tying the hair off the face, perhaps for convenience during energetic dancing, were common. Male facial hair, again 'natural' in its lack of trim or shape, was much in evidence. The venues were also down-to-earth and un-styled, with the emphasis on natural materials and on making use of traditional public venues within the town centre. Children also tended to be clothed in natural materials with un-styled hair, with an emphasis on a dark, 'goth' look accompanied by body piercings, amongst the older teenagers.

5.2. OperaFest

OperaFest made use of various venues across the town. The main venue was the Edwardian opera house which was used for the operas. Chamber music and literature events were usually held in the nearby recently re-furbished Victorian four-star hotel. Church halls were also used for several of the performances.

OperaFest visitors tended to stay in one of the many bed and breakfast establishments or one of the small hotels in the town. They ate at the various restaurants and pubs around the town. The Victorian hotel and the atmospheric eighteenth century hotel opposite the opera house were generally regarded as the most desirable residences and tended to be the choices of the top performers too, although they were also the most expensive. Of the OperaFest interviewees, four were staying in the four-star hotel, with three of the others saying they had stayed there or at the eighteenth century hotel in the past. Six of the others were staying in small hotels or bed and breakfasts in the town, and the remaining interviewee used her caravan on a site on the edge of the town. Rooms at most of the accommodations tended to be booked up early and, even booking four months before the festival, it proved quite difficult for the researcher to find a room. Accommodation was eventually found in a comfortable six bedroom bed and breakfast about eight minutes walk to the centre amongst residential semi-detached houses and large Victorian brick houses. Fellow residents for early dinner, timed to allow opera attendance, included two couples: both couples aged around seventy. One of the couples, with the female dressed in a flowery shirt and trousers and the man in blazer and tie were also attending the festival; the other couple were on a genealogy-related holiday. Breakfast the next morning revealed a sprightly seventy-ish year old lady with short styled white hair wearing jeans and t-shirt; a table of two ladies, also in their seventies, one in a green skirt suit; and three other tables of male/female couples again in their late sixties or early seventies, including the two sets from the previous evening. The festival shop, housed in a portakabin next to the opera house, provided a limited range of purchase opportunities such as classical and opera cds, local mementoes and cotton bags and was staffed by two locally resident teenage volunteers who wanted to gain work experience to supplement their university courses. One was studying theatre, the other music, both also accomplished violinists. In return for working as shop

assistants, stage hands and stewards, they gained a small wage and the chance to get free tickets for the performances. The researcher discovered that the stewards at the opera house venue were connected with the venue itself though, rather than with the festival.

Perceptions and observations as the audience arrived for the mid-week evening opera performance in the restored Edwardian opera house revealed an air of excitement.

Audience members were dressed smartly, with the women in skirts or trousers and tops, with formal jewellery and neat well-cut hair and the men tending to be in shirts and trousers with many also wearing jackets and a few in ties. Male hairstyles, where hair was in evidence, tended to be very slightly longer than might be seen in a formal office environment, although still professionally cut. One or two audience members were in casual trousers with a fleece. Almost all were aged over fifty, with the majority probably aged sixty or more. Champagne and wine were lined up under the outside gazebo ready for the interval when people stood around and chatted in small groups of usually around four or six people. Several greetings of the 'nice to see you' type were overheard by the researcher.

Again at the opera house, this time on the Saturday night for the top of the bill opera, observations in the dress circle revealed a number of celebrities (politicians, television personalities), and expensive-looking clothes and hair-cuts. Men were mainly in tailored jackets, some with ties, females were in dresses, or pretty blouses with skirts or trousers, with tailored jackets. There was much waving across at others and talk overheard on 'operas I have seen' at Glyndebourne or London venues, often in 'public school' type accents. Age ranges within the dress circle at this Saturday night performance were slightly lower than at other events, although still mainly above forty.

The next venue to be inspected was the ballroom-style auditorium in the four-star hotel

mentioned earlier, which was used for festival chamber music performances and literary talks. This had high arched windows, draped curtains, gold sprayed padded chairs, chandeliers and a dark blue ceiling with gold stars scattered around. A raised dais displayed a grand piano, which was not in use for all of the events. Again, lots of chatter could be heard before the morning event started as people talked in twos and threes.

Dress styles were generally, for women, shirts or smart t-shirts and skirts or smart trousers and occasionally jackets; for the men, short sleeved shirts, long trousers and sometimes jackets. The researcher's admiration of a neighbour's handbag elicited that it was obtained via the Guardian newspaper. Ages tended to be predominantly sixties and seventies, although one female of around forty with a twelve-year old boy (who both turned out probably to be related to the festival's artistic director) was spotted. The questioning by the audience of the speaker tended to be lengthy and academic in style, with two of the questioners specifically referring to themselves as formerly working or lower class. After the talk, several audience members decamped to the bar area of the hotel to eat a snack lunch at the small tables draped with white linen tablecloths and decorated with fresh roses. Observations on the styles of dress in evidence in the bar included a group of three 60-70 year old females, all dressed smartly in either a trouser suit, a skirt suit or a fitted linen dress; and a couple, the female attired in a navy blazer with coral shirt and dressy earrings, the male in a checked shirt and smart trousers.

A local church was the venue for several music concerts, including one jazz-style event. There, one couple attracted the researcher's attention due to their habit of nodding knowledgeably at each other whenever a jazz musician was referred to by the performers. Both in their early fifties, the female sported a white jacket, stylish blonde hair and two sets of small red spectacles on her head, whilst the man had close-shaven hair and a casual jacket. As usual the audience was predominantly aged over fifty, with just one or two younger people scattered about.

In summary, the age range at OperaFest was definitely skewed towards the senior citizen end of the population, with dress styles being smart to smart-casual, depending on the event, although no dinner jackets were in evidence. The venues signalled a middle-class flavour, matching the middle-class feel of the audience. Social groupings tended to range from couples to larger groups of up to six people.

5.3. PopFest

PopFest took place on a green-field site within an urban setting, which incorporated an established indoor concert venue. There were four music stages of various sizes and a stage for comedy performances. A 'festival village' provided the setting for the food and craft stalls and tents.

A choice of two campsites was offered to those who wished to stay on site, the smaller one of which was specifically designated for families or those preferring a quieter site. The researcher was based on the main campsite, as were eight of the interviewees, with the other three interviewees staying on the family campsite. No cars were allowed onto either site and tents were mostly small on the main site, with the occasional large three-bedroom-ed tent, and all were pitched very close together as people 'in-filled' as they arrived. The campers' ages on the main site appeared to be predominantly in the under-thirties. The mood was relaxed. Observations on the other site found that tents tended to be much larger and well-equipped. The campers' age here were generally older than the other site, although some young children were also in evidence.

The main concert stage was fronted by a small outdoor natural grassy amphitheatre with a capacity of approximately two thousand people. At one edge of this were five or six food stalls featuring vegetarian, African, chilli and crêpe food styles. Audience members in this main arena area, during the afternoon sessions, were sitting or lying on the grass, mostly on rugs, in male/female couples, family groups and larger groups.

Ages ranged from children under ten to adults in their forties. A handful of teenagers were standing close to the stage, particularly when younger local bands were playing. Dress tended to be t-shirts, a small number of these featuring other festivals, including Glastonbury, Reading, WOMAD and T in the Park. The age ranges in the main arena appeared to be more evenly balanced than in the campsite, being spread across the twenty to fifty age range and included some young children, perhaps indicating a different age characteristic of day visitors, or the inclusion of people from the family site.

Apart from the few food stalls alongside the main arena, another area as large as the main arena provided further refreshment opportunities, as well as some clothing stalls, craft stalls, jewellery stalls, a Guardian newspaper tent which sold Guardian / Observer newspapers in the mornings, and a general newsagent / sweets shop. Observations of people eating in the tent serving wood-fired pizza, where the customers were invited to recline on large cushions and eat off low tables accompanied by reggae music, included a man in his thirties in a waistcoat and wooden beads over a bare torso; a man in his forties with a baker-boy style cap; and a female in her thirties in a sundress and big floppy hat.

Towards the back of the festival site was a marquee which focused on mainly acoustic-style or low-tech music, including folk, blues, jazz, ska, alt-country and so on. The capacity in this tent was around 300 people if everyone stood up, although for one performer in particular, crowds were also gathered outside to listen. For some performances, people were sitting on the grass inside and watching the bands or solo musicians on the small stage. The musicians in this tent tended to attract 'grooving' crowds of men in their late thirties, forties and even fifties immediately in front of the stage. An exchange between two men in their forties during one of the blues-style

performances here included comments such as ‘that is a phat bass’ and ‘listen to that bass player, excellent’.

Two bars were available for the purchase of alcoholic and soft drinks, the marquee bar also featuring a long line of barrels of specialist beers, as well as a cocktails section. Observations of some of the people in the marquee bar at around 10pm on the Saturday evening included a man in his forties wearing a designer fleece sweatshirt over jeans, another man in his late forties in heavy-rimmed glasses and jeans; a female in her twenties wearing a flowery skirt, black jumper, flip-flops and an anklet; and a male in his thirties wearing designer jeans with ‘ripped’ knees.

The warm weather obviously had some bearing on the styles of clothing in evidence at PopFest, but in general, festival visitors here were dressed in what could perhaps be called ‘festival chic’, with a nod towards hippy look: that is, although not perhaps in their ‘best’ clothes, they were not scruffy either. The age ranges varied across the festival according to location, with, as reported, a younger age group in evidence at the main campsite, and also at certain events such as the well-known DJ playing the indoor stage; whilst the more low-key non-mainstream styles in the acoustic marquee attracted the older age groups, particularly the males. The styling of the site, with hippy-style lounging cushions and vegetarian and non-traditional food choices, as well as a conspicuous ‘Guardian’ tent, signalled a desire to attract a middle-class audience.

5.4. Conclusion

Although the characteristics of the three research sites and their sets of festival visitors appeared at first glance to vary substantially, some parallels can also be drawn. Dress at PopFest during the evenings showed some parallels to the smart casual look at OperaFest, although with perhaps a younger take on it; whilst the PopFest day-wear was perhaps a less extreme version of FolkFest styles. Dress styles at OperaFest and the

FolkFest social dance were also remarkably similar, perhaps reflecting their close age profiles. At both FolkFest and PopFest, age ranges were fairly wide but became concentrated into narrower ranges at specific events.

All festival venues appeared to be in tune with the styles of the audiences: natural style venues for the naturally-styled folk fans, more formal styles for OperaFest and a hippy slant at PopFest. The ambience at all three festivals were generally relaxed, with palpable excitement before major events.

Chapter 6: At the festival

6. Introduction²

Following on from the previous chapter's exploration of the festival settings from the researcher's viewpoint, this chapter uses the *a priori* coded interview data to explore the festivals from the interviewees' viewpoints. Part 1 explores the interviewees' views on the festival at which they were recruited, as well as other festivals they had attended.

The interviewees' comments on the particular performers they went to see are also included in this section. Part 2 focuses on the social aspects of the interviewees' festival experience, including who they went with and who they talked to when they were there. Interviewees' responses relating to their and others' dress and personal presentation is also reported in this part.

6.1. Part 1: Festival choices

This part of the chapter looks at the aspects of the festival experience relating to choosing which festivals to attend and selecting the festival performances to watch.

6.1.1. Choosing a festival

In addition to the festival at which they were recruited, some of the participants had attended, or were planning to attend, a large number of festivals during the course of the year of the interview, whilst for others, the festival in the study was the only one that year. The importance of confirming his status as a festival attendee was summed up by Daniel when referring to his attendance at Popfest as 'just a case of wanting to tick the box

² Please note that music references in this thesis are defined in the Music Glossary.

that we'd gone to a festival this year'. At the other end of the scale, Sophie from FolkFest reckoned that she would be attending ten folk festivals during the year, whilst Ellie, also from FolkFest said she would be attending 'absolutely loads', also all folk festivals. Apart from Kath, who was at FolkFest with friends and was not actually very keen on folk music, all of the FolkFest participants usually went to several festivals each year.

Amongst the OperaFest participants, Christine listed the three other festivals she had been to recently: an opera festival which she had attended annually over the previous three years, a classical music festival and a Shakespeare Festival. Similarly, Lydia had just returned from an opera festival in France and had also recently been to three other classical music-oriented festivals in her local area, while Jill had also recently been to two other European classical music festivals as well as had bookings in hand for the Edinburgh Festival:

J: this year, before [OperaFest] we went to Schwartzenburg in Austria, that's a music festival, mainly Schubert, and we went to Beaune in France, which is a Baroque music festival and while we were in France we went to a few other things in other venues. And then we're going to the Edinburgh Festival for a weekend.

Participants from OperaFest and PopFest were often anxious to prove that, despite not perhaps having attended many festivals over the previous year or so, they were aware of other possibilities and, like Stephen (below), were keen to show that they may attend others in the future:

R: So you haven't been tempted to go to one of those then yet?

S: Yeah well it's more a case of um Elliot was interested in going to one, forgotten what it was called. And uh a girl I was seeing went to one about a week before we went and I've forgotten what that's called as well. The Big Chill. That's meant to be a nice festival. Yeah she recommends that quite highly so maybe next year look at going to a couple more.

With only three exceptions, Meg from FolkFest, Christine from OperaFest and

Charlotte from PopFest, the participants did not tend to have attended festivals in music genres outside the one at which they were recruited. Meg was planning to attend several folk festivals during the year, but also had tickets to see one opera at OperaFest, mainly due to its close proximity to her home. However, rather than emphasising cultural content, she saw clear differences between her two styles of festival attendance:

M: I know it [OperaFest] calls itself a festival but it has a different feel for me because I'm not staying there. Whereas obviously when you go to a folk festival, that's very much part of it to be camping and staying.

Christine from OperaFest, as mentioned above, also picked up on the physical differences which may be involved in the festival experience:

R: Are there any types of music or arts events that you definitely wouldn't want to go to that you can think of off-hand?

C: I certainly wouldn't go to the Glastonbury Festival. Sitting in mud's not my thing. So that sort of festival I wouldn't necessarily want to go to.

In another potential cultural cross-over, Charlotte had attended folk festivals in the past but distanced herself from being a *bona fide* folk festival punter:

C: I've been to folk festivals. Mainly through participating in them, through the musical instruments that I play. I play the flute and I used to play for a clog dancing group when I was younger. So I've done folk festivals from that point of view but not really sort of attending them as such.

R: Have you been to any recently then, folk festivals.

C: No no cos I don't really do that any more.

The interviewees, like Daniel from PopFest for example, who had attended only the festival under study, were anxious to give reasons for their lack of prolific festival attendance. Financial reasons were not generally given as an excuse for non-attendance at other festivals and instead included reasons such as geography or a lack of time off

work.

Geoff from OperaFest, for example, cited his relocation to Devon as a reason for not attending the Glyndebourne opera festival, Aldeburgh classical music festival or the Edinburgh International Festival of the arts, recently:

G: Until three and a half years ago I used to live just outside London. I'd been working in London for thirty years. Then I came back to Devon. From down here it's a bit more difficult so I tend to stick to OperaFest now and the occasional trip to Glyndebourne.'

Similarly, Maureen also cited geographical distance as well as the need to care for elderly relatives as factors preventing her from attending other festivals:

M: I've got to be within an hour or two of driving home.

Social reasons were also given for non-attendance at festivals: Lucy from PopFest claimed 'I didn't really have anyone to go with' as a reason for not going to Leeds, a major commercial pop festival, despite already having a ticket.

Madeline, also from PopFest defended her non-attendance at Glastonbury, one of the oldest established pop festivals, with lack of holiday from work at the right time. She also took the chance to lament that a wedding had stopped her going to Leeds Festival with her friends that year.

M: I wanted to go to Leeds really bad because some of my friends were going and I was crying about it after they'd gone cos I wanted to go so much. I just felt like I was going to miss out, like all my friends together messing about.

In summary, therefore, the participants were keen to demonstrate that they were bona fide festival attendees, apparently seeing it as desirable to be able to report having been to several festivals, especially the better known events, and wanting to give reasons if they had not been to any other festivals that year. Most tended to confine their festival attendance to one genre, however.

6.1.2. Opinions on festival status

Within the context of talk about festivals, which this section will report, there were indications that participants perceived differences in festivals' status. The participants were often keen to align themselves with the festivals that they regarded as of higher status, even if they had not actually attended the festival to which they referred. The differences highlighted by the participants tended to be within the genre with which they were familiar, rather than across genres.

Anthony from FolkFest was particularly explicit on the theme of only attending good quality folk festivals:

R: What other festivals do you go to?

A: [listing the folk festivals he had attended] We do several different ones but we have some standards.

Similarly, Ben demonstrated a perception of a popular music festival hierarchy by his comment that 'I wouldn't hold [PopFest] in high regard', citing other pop festivals such as Ben and Jerry's and The Big Chill as preferable due to his regard for them as being of 'more quality' and 'more established'.

There was some disagreement on the quality of one of the oldest pop festivals, Glastonbury. Colin from PopFest was of the opinion that Glastonbury was really no longer considered by those 'in the know' to be a high status festival. According to Colin more cachet is now attached to attending a smaller festival such as PopFest:

C: Yeah I mean I think it's [Glastonbury] too commercial now. I mean apparently from all accounts somebody told me they went this year and you've got a lot of you know Sloane Rangers with all their picnic gear and you know camping with big tents whereas when we went it was just a tent or the first year we slept in a car I think. Yeah it's a lot more sort of people going to Henley on Thames and then going to Glastonbury.

R: So you don't think [PopFest] was like that then?

C: No, no. No I thought [PopFest] was just sort of, well it's a totally different experience from Glastonbury.

In contrast, however, Alan from PopFest, appeared to disagree, upholding Glastonbury as a top destination, by citing it as one of his annual festivals and aligning it with 'South by SouthWest', a prestigious music industry convention in America, which British bands are said to try and use to break into the American market.

Amongst OperaFest participants, Glyndebourne opera festival, famous for its 'black tie'-clad picnickers, was mentioned several times by OperaFest participants, including Barry, Geoff, Keith:

B: I've done my Glyndebourne this year.

...

G: ...I used to go to Edinburgh ehm, Garsington, Glyndebourne, I've been to Aldeburgh a couple of times, etcetera, etcetera.

...

K: I went to Glyndebourne last year.

Amongst FolkFest participants, Sidmouth Folk Festival in Devon appeared to be regarded as the most significant folk festival, with several mentions, including by Callum, Meg, Alice, David, Ellie and Holly. Callum saw Sidmouth as a benchmark, certainly in terms of size, to FolkFest:

C: Probably we imagined [FolkFest] to be closer to the size of Sidmouth than the size it was.

In summary, the participants from each of the festivals appeared to be in agreement on which were the significant other festivals within their musical landscapes, paying little attention to festivals outside their genre of interest.

6.1.3. Choosing ‘the fresh’ at festivals

The participants tended to stick to the genres with which they were familiar when choosing a festival or a performance, or sometimes to rely on friends or the media for inspiration, as has been shown above. However, several of the participants from each of the festivals were also keen to highlight their desire to choose something fresh and unusual, although still within their favoured genre, at the festivals they attended.

Common amongst the OperaFest participants was a desire to extend their repertoire of operas seen. It should be noted, however, that although these operas may have been fresh to the participants and had not been performed recently in a location accessible to the participants, they were not avant-garde in the sense of being contemporary and ground-breaking. The single contemporary opera which was performed on only one night at OperaFest was not well attended when compared with the, mostly capacity, audiences for the other operas.

Lydia, for example, explained why she was a regular attendee at OperaFest:

R: Why do you keep going back again and again?

L: There are always different operas and we like to see different operas. We particularly wanted to see the Donizetti and the Offenbach and the King Arthur. I think that is the main thing that takes us there, that they do operas that you don't often see performed anywhere else. And we actually go for the operas. We're opera lovers.

Sylvia, also from OperaFest, echoed these views:

S: Our main interest is opera. And because they tend to I think the policy is to have more unusual or less performed operas then that's of particular interest to us. So it's expanding the repertoire.

Keith, concentrated on adding to his total number of operas seen and was particularly explicit on his mission of ‘completism’ which encouraged him to attend as many different

fresh (to him) operas as he could. He explained that the presence of unusual operas on the OperaFest programme was a major reason for attending the festival:

K: It's because I want to know as many works as I can.

R: Is it like a ticking off things? A bit like bagging mountains?

K: Yes..it's, I'm a collector.

R: Oh I see. That's why you like the rare operas then, because you can then tick them off.

K: Yes yes. I mean it would take an awful lot to get me to go there to see La Boheme.

Similarly, Barry was also keen to 'collect' operas:

B: I have kept a list of operas I've been to, so these are original, not repeats or anything.

And Romeo and Juliet [at OperaFest] was number 525.

This aim of seeing fresh and unusual acts was also shared by some of the participants from FolkFest and PopFest. Daniel from PopFest, for example, assessed the line-up in order to identify the less well-known bands:

D: With [Popfest] they get a lot of bands that are up and coming that not many people have heard of yet and it's often the second year that the band's played that they're becoming a lot more famous. So it requires a bit of research before the festival to find out and on the surface there potentially could be no bands that we like. But when you actually do a bit of research and certain buzz words are thrown up then you realize that there's quite a few that are going to be interesting to go and watch.

Also keen on confirming his interest in performers who were less well-known at the time, and thus his desire for being in the vanguard, Alan from PopFest stressed:

A: I've seen lots of bands who have gone on to make it quite big really.

Of the FolkFest participants, Matt also highlighted his enjoyment of one of his past festival experiences of less usual performers:

M: I've seen some amazing artists, even some who've never played in front of a crowd before. Ehm there's a festival that I did security for and there was a girl and her boyfriend who turned up about half eleven at night, and they just wanted to come in for a bit of a session and what have you. Most people, because it's only a tiny little music festival, most people disappear off back to their tents or whatever. And she started, she played the guitar and she started singing right next to the café. And people were coming out of their tents getting back up out of bed and ended up with about a hundred and fifty people sat there listening to her sing. She was absolutely amazing. She er just, wow. You know, she's really really good.

Daniel from PopFest also highlighted the attraction of fresh performances as well as a disdain for commercialism, by explaining his attitude to a band which was previously regarded as avant-garde but had since become consecrated by the establishment:

R: Is it partly because they are so new that you're keen or are they just

D: Yeh that is potentially some of it even with a band like Maps. I mean I've known about Maps for quite a while now and now the fact that it's been Mercury-nominated and things like that, it loses the appeal slightly for me because people are just going to start jumping on the bandwagon and then they'll potentially release something that's a little bit more experimental or something and people all of a sudden won't like them...

R: So would you then go back to them if they get more experimental?

D: Yeh potentially.

In summary, therefore, all three of the festivals under study, appeared to be attractive to the participants for their potential as sources of fresh and unusual performances.

However, there was also evidence that some of the OperaFest participants were not keen to move too far away from the traditional, and that at least one of the PopFest participants lost interest in performers once they also became well-known to others.

6.1.4. Influences on festival performance choices

The participants also mentioned influences which encouraged their attendance and appreciation of certain performances at the festival, including their particular musical expertise or interest as well as the influence of social contacts.

Several examples of the use of a particular type of knowledge as a basis of authority in certain aspects of the performances were discernible. Janice from OperaFest, for example, used her set and costume design expertise to express her opinion on the design related aspects of one of the operas:

J: I thought it was a really good production from the point of view of the sets, the costumes, and the opera itself really.

Similarly, Kath from FolkFest used her singing expertise to combine an objective view with her own take on a folk group:

K: They sang really good harmonies and I enjoyed that.

Charlotte from PopFest brought her musical knowledge to her choice of festival events:

C: I liked the tent where it's more acoustic and you kind of get a sense of being closer to the musicians. Emm particularly I liked the three young siblings who were there [Kitty, Daisy and Lewis] because they were just such an eclectic style of music and playing so many instruments and things like that. They were really good.

Ben gave a particularly authoritative assessment, based on his experience of dance music, of one of the DJs who played a set at PopFest:

B: That I liked, though he didn't play the best set because he was in the inside arena, which was a bit like a school hall. But it didn't have the best vibe to it. I mean, you know, I don't think people had really heard of him at all, you know, it wasn't the best atmosphere.

From OperaFest, Jill was also authoritative about the Mozart performances of a company whose performances she said she always tried to attend, as well as on the

appropriate staging of Handel operas:

J: They're brilliant at performing Mozart and other things on original instruments. So I mean I no longer want to listen to Mozart operas unless they're on period because you hear so much more. And Ian Page is so good. I love Handel operas. I think they're fantastic. And we're so lucky now that they've started to perform Handel with something like the right circumstances and the right sort of scenery. Because with Handel opera, of course most of the time you've got a hero who's singing, you know, would have originally been written for a castrato, so the singing uh in the alto or soprano range. And of course if you have a woman singing it, it puts a different cast on it. When they first used to do these operas they'd transpose it down to baritone or something like that, which would just mess it up completely. But nowadays they've got some very good counter tenors and they sing the heroic roles in the keys that it's supposed to be sung and that just transforms it.

At least one of the participants, Mike from PopFest, was encouraged by the inclusion in the programme, to sample and enjoy a performance at the festival, that his existing music palette might have discouraged, although this was the only example found:

M: I would never dream of seeing Sophie Ellis Bextor but [laugh] she did a really good show.

Social contacts also provided influence on the choices of festival performance, again perhaps modifying the choices of the participant: Alice from FolkFest, for example, explained how she chose which events to attend:

A: It was based on people I'd seen before and people I'd had recommended to me. Our group is like that and we'll do different things and recommend other things to other people and stuff.

David from FolkFest also drew on others' opinions when reporting that one of the ceilidh's callers, whose event he attended, was 'very well thought of' and that they had some 'very big name bands and callers there'.

As an example of circularity, earlier festivals were also cited by Matt and David from FolkFest as a source of influence on festival choices:

M: I think the festivals probably give you the broadest amount of knowledge. Yes I think festivals are the best place to start if you want to get involved in traditional music

...

D: ...you think oh I'll go and see such and such cos they're playing and I've nothing else to do and you go along and you thoroughly enjoy it so you watch out for them in the future. Works the other way as well.

In summary, therefore, the choices of which performances within the festival to watch may perhaps be refined by specialist knowledge, with the choices made perhaps reinforcing these commitments further. Consecration by social contacts whose views they trusted, or perhaps by the very inclusion of the performance on the festival programme, appeared to have encouraged participants to experiment and then further encouraged them to approve of acts.

6.1.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the research participants seemed to regard it as desirable to be defined as a festival attendee: the higher the number of festivals attended the better. However, these festivals were usually only within the same or closely allied genre to the festival at which they were recruited, and the status of the festival within an identified hierarchy was a key consideration. There was some keenness to be seen to be extending their repertoire of musical experiences, but these experimentations were not usually particularly radical.

6.2. Part 2: The social landscape of the festival

6.2.1. Introduction

As mentioned in the previous section, social influences within the context of festival and performance choices are myriad. This part of the data chapter will examine the social landscape of the festival itself with a view to understanding how the interplay between social actors shaped the research interviewees' experience of the festival they attended. Interplay with people already known to the interviewees, both at and after the festival, as well as interplay with previously unknown contacts will be considered. Whether the participants reported using their outward appearance as a social tool to shape experience will also be examined.

6.2.2. Interplay with known associates

For several of the interviewees, the festival they attended was part of a chain of social events involving the same festival associates, thus allowing the possibility of these associates helping to shape the individual's festival experience. The other social events in these chains varied from general socializing to socializing at specific types of events such as other festivals or cultural experiences.

Amongst the PopFest participants, Stephen's extra-festival event chain appeared to be strongly focused on the friends with whom he attended the festival. Stephen from PopFest explained that he had known these three friends for around ten years and 'we see each other quite often anyway but it's nice to go away as a group'. His association with the other three started when they played football together in their early twenties and Stephen now shared a house with one of the group. Each year recently, they had all been together to several music gigs and two festivals, and they had also composed and recorded pieces of music as a group, which were posted on their MySpace band page.

Highlighting the strong role his friends played in his festival activities, Stephen stressed their closeness:

S: We'd happily not speak to anyone for the whole weekend. Not in an ignorant way, but we're not outgoing and go and chat to people.

Similarly, Alan and Ruth both also met up at other times with members of the families with whom they had attended PopFest. Ruth knew the adults through her children's school, whilst Alan had played tennis with his festival friends. Mike also saw the festival friends, with whom he had specifically arranged to attend PopFest, occasionally outside of the festival, and had been friends with one of them since childhood.

A sharing of interests with his wife, and regular outings to other events such as to the English National Opera in London, had encouraged Roy from OperaFest to attend the festival. Roy explained that the festival was for them to spend time together so 'we don't talk to a lot of other people'. Sylvia from OperaFest also liked to use the festival to focus on her husband:

S: It's a private holiday for us. We might occasionally chat to somebody but we're not looking to be particularly sociable while we're there.

Christine, Janice, Clive, Lydia, Jill, and Maureen also all attended OperaFest with their partners and several talked about other cultural outings with these partners. Janice and her husband often attended local theatre and dance events, whilst Jill and her husband and Lydia and her husband had recently attended other opera festivals outside the UK.

All of the FolkFest participants seemed to be integrated into social networks which were strongly rooted in FolkFest, but associated with chains of social events. Alice from FolkFest, for example, regularly met up with her festival associates, who were spread across the country:

A: We meet up for birthdays or Christmas. It's quite a little community. We all meet up and go paintballing or for a day out together.

Also from FolkFest, Kath described regular get-togethers with the same people with whom she had attended the festival:

K: We do weekends quite often, have dinner parties and we have a Christmas meal together. This year they're all coming to our house.

Although Kath admitted that for several of her group, herself included, folk music was not a favourite genre, she said that they had found that the folk festival-related gathering seemed to work better to bind the group together than the overseas holiday which they had tried as a group. Anthony from FolkFest also saw folk festivals as good for building on existing friendships: although he often met up with the same friends at a series of festivals, he would only occasionally meet up with them outside of the festival environment.

A: They're folkie friends and it seems to be that you meet them at folk festivals.

For Callum, David and Sophie from FolkFest, dancing as members of Morris sides ensured that they were regular attendees at folk festivals with the same core groups of people, as well as seeing them for practices and other performances. Her group also sometimes subdivided for socializing too: according to Sophie 'there are people who perhaps have closer friends, who they see more outside in little groups'. Both Holly and Matt from FolkFest mentioned attending ceilidhs at Cecil Sharpe House, the headquarters of the English Folk Dance and Song Society, with their festival friends, whilst Matt, Alice, Meg and David were all regular volunteer stewards at a list of UK festivals.

All of the OperaFest participants, apart from Janice, were either 'Friends' or 'Patrons' of the festival, which gave them the chance to participate in cultural trips especially organized for the attendees of OperaFest. In theory this gave the OperaFest participants

the chance to spend more time with the people with whom they had attended OperaFest as well as to socialize with others who were also interested in opera. In practice, however, of the eleven participants, only Sylvia had actually been on one of these extra trips and was not overly impressed:

S: You ended up in a boring not very nice hotel and the chap organizing it was a bit iffy.

Lydia had tried to get places on two of the trips but was not successful due to the trips' oversubscription. Both Christine and Maureen had attended a Friends' Reception during OperaFest where they chatted to other OperaFest visitors, with Christine commenting:

C: There's a thread of connection, talk about [OperaFest], so there's a peg to hang the conversation on.

Joining the 'Friends' therefore seemed to be more about getting early access to the tickets for most of the OperaFest participants, rather than a means of getting to know fellow opera fans, although Christine, Bernard, Jill and Maureen all mentioned a belief in supporting the festival for more altruistic purposes, such as supporting the arts.

Apart from planned or anticipated interactions with known associates, several of the participants also had chance encounters with others they had met in the past, all of which added to the tapestry of social interaction at the festivals. The style of these meetings could be very fleeting, including running into people whom they vaguely recognized from the past, such as Barry from OperaFest who reported that he might say 'oh it's nice to see you again' but would only have recognized the person's face and not known their name; or Roy bumping into people from his opera course; or Maureen seeing people from other musical activities.

Sophie's chance meetings at FolkFest seemed to be on a slightly closer level:

S: it's a chance to catch up with people who perhaps you're not good enough friends with to swap phone numbers, but you'll sort of sit down and you'll have a beer and play a few tunes together.

Lucy and Ruth both from PopFest, who both lived not far from the festival venue, spoke of seeing a lot of people there whom they knew but with whom they were not close friends, and Lucy's friendships with some of them had since become closer:

L: There were people from school that we knew. It's just like a given thing and everyone goes. I'd not seen them for a while and recently since [PopFest] I've been out with them loads so that's quite nice.

...

R: We did see people there that we knew, but not by arrangement.

It seemed therefore that for many of the interviewees, the festivals being investigated were just one event within a string of other events which were attended with the same people, suggesting social influences in the planning of the visit and a cementing of friendships. For the OperaFest participants there appeared to be a focus on married couples both at the festival and for other related outings, with Roy commenting 'we go in pairs'. As well as some attending with partners or friends, for the folk festival interviewees, attendance also seemed to be related to the expectation of being able to meet up with the same people, although not necessarily by formal prior arrangement. The social networks on which attendance at PopFest by the participants depended tended to be larger in membership number than the other two festivals, and like FolkFest, there was also an expectation of bumping into known people.

6.2.3. Inter-generational connections

The opportunity to spend time with family and with friends who were much older or younger appeared to have been a feature of the festival experience for some of the

research participants. James from FolkFest, for example, explained that one of the reasons he went to the festival was to meet up with his daughter and her husband there.

Talking about folk festivals in general, he expanded:

J: It's a type of event that appeals to everybody in the family so they're frequently opportunities for us to meet up with other members of the family and they're just family get-togethers. We normally go as a group of ten, sometimes twelve, and all camp together, have a good time and occasionally I go along to a concert or a dance.

The chance to visit his daughter and also to take his daughter and her husband to see one of the operas was a motivation for Roy to attend OperaFest too.

Kath from FolkFest, used to take her children to the festival when they were younger, staying with other families:

K: The other children were all about the same age so right from when they were tiny we were taking them. So we'd have a barbeque in the garden at Stuart and Liz's house and all the kids would be playing together.

However, family attendance was not always without its drawbacks, as Kath did admit that the children were not very keen on the festival and felt that in the past they had:

K: ...been dragged there and my oldest was really scared of the Morris dancers as well.

Ruth, who took her children to PopFest with two other families, described how they would all sit by the tents after the music and have something to eat. She added that it was useful to be able to allow their children to wander around with children or parents from the other families too. Alan, also from PopFest, had persuaded his wife and young son to accompany him that year and commented:

A: It was nice to spend some time with, to go somewhere that my wife came too, which was unusual for something like this, and it was nice to go to a festival that my son enjoyed.

It was not just parents taking children to festivals though, but also ‘children’ (now adult) taking their parents. Anthony from FolkFest, for example had taken his mother, and also his sister in the past. Out of the OperaFest participants, Janice had taken her parents to past festivals (they felt they were too infirm to attend in the year of the research), Christine took her mother-in-law, and Geoff took his elderly mother.

Apart from kinship-based inter-generational connections, several of the FolkFest participants mentioned the potential of folk festivals to bring together the different generations and the resulting encouragement of attendance for some. Holly, for example, described how she had been allowed to go to folk festivals mainly with her friends since the age of thirteen as her parents considered it to be a safe environment where ‘everyone knows everyone else and everyone knows whose child you are’. Holly told the interviewer about how her friend Tasha is well known in folk circles due to her inter-generational connections:

H: My friend Tasha, who’s been into folk music since before she was born, she always gets old men coming up to her at festivals and they’re like ‘oh you alright Tasha, how’re you, how’s yer Mum?’ and she’s like ‘who are you?’.

Both Sophie and Callum from FolkFest reported that they had friends of all ages through their Morris teams and Callum remarked that his team had become ‘quite a family’, particularly when they went to festivals.

C: Generally most Cotswold teams are like fifty upwards. We [his Morris side] do a heavy campaign, recruiting, and our average age is now about twenty-seven, twenty-eight. So we’ve got a lot of young members. We went out last weekend and our average age group was thirteen and a half [-] not counting Derek who was 65.

It seems, therefore that all festivals can offer the potential for the facilitation of inter-generational contact and that the possibility to spend time with family and friends of varying ages play a role in the festival experience for some.

6.2.4. Sites and settings of social interplay

By their very nature, music festivals collect people together in order for them to experience a range of cultural events. What seemed to set these festivals apart from other cultural events, according the participants, however, was a willingness on behalf of the festival visitors to connect more intensely with previously unknown others at the festival, an opportunity which appeared to be a source of pleasure and motivation for some. David from FolkFest explained:

D: One of the nice things about going to folk festivals is I find that nearly everybody is friendly. There's just about always a good atmosphere. People are nice to you, people are helpful, they're all there to enjoy themselves.

Lydia from OperaFest reported that her husband had in fact noted the difference between attending a festival opera and going to their local theatre:

L: You do find yourself talking to people. In fact Robert commented on it, that where perhaps it wouldn't happen in a theatre or if you were going to the cinema or something, you'll sit next to somebody at [OperaFest] and they will talk to you.

Maureen from OperaFest also highlighted how being at the festival seemed to encourage communication with previously unknown people:

M: Different people talk to each other at the Festival. It's because they've seen them before. You don't necessarily know who they are, you just know that was the lady you sat behind last time.

These connections appeared to be focused at certain settings within and around the festival, including at the discrete events, as well as outside the events and refreshment or accommodation sites. Keith and Clive of OperaFest, for example, talked about how proximity in the theatre encouraged chat to fellow opera guests:

K: of course you talk to quite a lot of people. They just happen to be sitting next to you.

...

C: Certainly I chat to people if they're on their own. There's nothing worse than being at a loose end while you're waiting for something to start or in the interval.

Several of the FolkFest participants also identified festival events as sites of more intense social interplay. Holly, for example, highlighted the ceilidhs:

H: At festivals we usually just go to the ceilidhs late at night because they're good for socializing.

Matt also saw dancing as providing a good opportunity to meet others at the festival, reporting on the activities of one of the other festival goers:

M: There's a guy called Robert and all he does all weekend is ceilidh workshops, ceilidh dances. That's all he does, he dances and he doesn't let any lass sit on her own. There's a huge range of people to go and potentially meet if you're bold enough or drunk enough.

Callum from FolkFest was honest in his social motives for attending the ceilidhs:

C: I was looking to pull. Just broke up, just finished a relationship and wanted to practise my pulling skills to be quite honest, 'cause I'm actually useless at it.

R: They must be quite good places, the ceilidhs.

C: I enjoy dancing. It's a relaxed place to um meet girls.

Although there seemed to be a general consensus that PopFest was 'a friendly festival' (Alan, Hannah), when pressed, Hannah admitted that although 'it had an air of friendliness about it', she had not actually chatted to more than one or two new people. However, Alan noted that there were probably half a dozen times during the weekend when he spoke to people he didn't know, usually when he was sitting at a communal picnic table:

A: If you're sitting down having a cup of tea and someone is sitting with you, you'll sort of say good morning and have a chat.

Mike from PopFest also reported:

M: There was just the occasional people that you happened to be sitting at the same table and sort of chat about things. But nothing more than that.

Again on the edge of the events, but in a music-related activity, Madeline reported that she chatted to people at PopFest when she was handing out flyers there for a friend's band, and had even seen some of them again:

M: Well I met a few new people who were perhaps friends of friends. Two girls that I've kept in contact with since. Yeah, we'll perhaps go out a bit more often now.

Shared accommodation venues also provided opportunities for social interplay.

Participants from each of the festivals noted that they had conversed with fellow festival guests whom they had met around these locations. Ruth from PopFest talked about how she and her camping neighbours borrowed equipment from each other and:

R: We ended up having a drink with them back at the tent or up at the site during the day.

Charlotte from PopFest also reported chatting with her camping neighbours that year as well as bumping into her camping neighbours from the previous year: 'we sort of said hello to them and every time we passed them kind of chat or whatever'.

Many of the FolkFest participants had also camped, although for Callum and for Holly the emphasis was on camping in a group with people they already knew well, rather than creating the opportunities to meet new people. Lucy, from warm and sunny PopFest, highlighted the social aspects of camping:

L: To be honest we didn't watch that many bands. We spent a lot of time just sitting outside the tent.

However, James commented on the effect of the wet weather during FolkFest:

J: The weather sort of forced you to keep yourself to yourself really. Probably a lot less sociable on the campsite than it might have been otherwise. There've been better.

OperaFest visitors tended to stay in bed and breakfast or hotel accommodation rather than camping and both Janice and Barry mentioned chatting to people from their B&Bs:

B: There was a couple, I don't know where they came from, but they were staying at the [B&B] where I was and we had to come out of the doors together. And I said "oh are you opera-ing?" and "oh yes", so we had a conversation all the way to the opera house. And then of course the following day at breakfast you're able to ask them how they enjoyed it.

Although participants did report that these casual meetings had sometimes developed into something further, Sophie from FolkFest had met her boyfriend at a previous folk festival, and one of Daniel's friends had met his current girlfriend at the previous year's PopFest, for most participants, as confirmed by Barry from OperaFest for example, no further contact was made after the festival.

It seems therefore that opportunities for social interaction with 'strangers' were taken by the participants more at these festivals than in day-to-day life. Despite the frequency of casual social interaction at the festivals, however, and a general agreement that these encounters made the atmosphere more agreeable, most appeared to be merely transitory acquaintances and the individuals met had not played a major role in the participants' festival experience.

6.2.5. Reasons for increased social interplay

Several reasons were put forward by the participants for this increased casual social interplay at festivals, including a feeling of trust in fellow festival guests, a feeling of being with others who shared their musical taste, and a feeling of being able to relax and forget about everyday life.

Callum from FolkFest confirmed that 'you can walk up to anyone' at the folk festival.

He also remarked on the feeling of trust and safety at the festival:

C: You're in a private area where you've had to have a ticket to get in so everyone's like-minded. There's no-one malicious there, no-one's going to come up to you to distract you while your wallet's being pinched. Walk around drunk all day and not feel unsafe - it's great!

Several of the PopFest interviewees also mentioned the feeling of security, with Stephen, Colin, Daniel and Ben all commenting on this:

S: It's not overly rowdy, not a lot of misbehaving.

...

C: I didn't see any trouble there.

...

D: I feel safe in the crowd.

...

B: I didn't see any fights or anything like that.

Three of the PopFest participants had brought children with them and Alan approved: 'the whole fact that they could run around and it was really safe'.

Anthony from FolkFest and Madeline from PopFest also noted the use of music as a bridge:

A: Striking up conversations with strangers is easy. You know it's an expectation that it's going to happen so there's no stiff standing around like at a party thinking 'well I wonder if I can go and talk to them'.

...

M: Some of the people I spoke to I got on with really well straight away and they were really into the bands.

Expanding on how she regarded music as providing points of connection in an extended network outside the festival too, Madeline explained:

M: I met loads of people through going to gigs with my boyfriend and then making friends with people there and then making friends with other bands and making friends with other bands' friends.

Participants from all of the festivals also talked of the feeling of relaxation and being on holiday, a factor which several participants felt provided a congenial backdrop to the social landscape of the festival. Barry from OperaFest explained:

B: I do treat it very much as a holiday. I switch off, I don't put the television or the radio on, I don't read newspapers. So I 'opt out' for the week.

Jill from OperaFest spoke of not having to worry about work and Maureen from OperaFest of the benefits of being away from her caring responsibilities:

M: When you get in and the concert door is closed I can't be responsible for anything happening back at home. So it's hugely relaxing, absolutely wonderful.

FolkFest participants also talked of the enjoyment of getting away from 'the horribleness of the long hours culture' (Sophie) and having 'a complete break from work' so being able to 'relax completely' (James). Ellie from FolkFest highlighted the contrast between her 'mundane paperwork job' and a festival:

E: It couldn't be more different from how my normal life is. It's just the getting away I think. When I'm at a festival I'm socializing, I'm playing music with other people rather than just by myself.

Similarly, PopFest participants also found the festival to be a relaxing place, as Colin explained:

C: Getting to the festival you forget about your normal routine life and it's just you get caught in the atmosphere and it's really easy to lose yourself in it.

Madeline from PopFest also appreciated the relaxed atmosphere:

R: So did you think the festival was any different from your everyday life?

M: Yeah, I loved it. I thought it was really random. I thought it was really different because I don't usually spend that much time with my friends as well. That was really good and not caring about what I looked like, that was good. And no-one else cared. Just relax and chill out and not worry.

In summary, therefore, it seems that the participants across all the festivals were in agreement about the contribution of an atmosphere of trust and relaxation as well as of music as a bridge in the encouragement of social interplay at festivals.

6.2.6. Role playing at the festival

Although all of the research participants were playing the role of spectator at a selection of the events which formed their festival, many of them were also playing other roles too, such as performing, working or volunteering at the festival, all of which could be said to have played a role in their experience.

FolkFest participants played the most varied selection of roles, with almost all of the participants either performing as Morris dancers, volunteering as stewards, or singing in sessions. David from FolkFest put it succinctly by observing:

D: If you do the Morris and things like that, then you're in a kind of halfway house.

Sophie also noticed performers, who could be professional, semi-professional or even amateur mixing with the punters:

S: There's not this sort of us-and-them divide. I like the fact that there's that sort of blurring of boundaries. I suppose it's the whole inclusivity thing. Everything overlaps.

Even those who were not participating in the festival under study in these ways tended to have participated in other festivals in the past and were likely to do so in the future.

James from FolkFest, for example, remarked:

J: It's the first time we've been to it as punters if you like. I've danced there [in the past].

He did complain though that perhaps for some, the dancing role obliterates the spectator role:

J: When you're dancing you don't have time to see anything of the festival.

This same role-shifting situation caused a feeling of disorientation for Sophie from FolkFest. Sophie, whose usual festival roles fluctuated between dancer and musician, was not performing officially at FolkFest and had instead accompanied her boyfriend, who was playing for a different Morris side:

S: I was there as a partner, which was kind of weird because I'm normally there with a Morris side or stewarding, uh. So I was really there for no particular reason at all.

Ellie was another FolkFest participant without a defined non-spectator role at that festival, finding herself on the edge of one of the singarounds in a pub, whereas as a singer-songwriter she had herself performed at other festivals in the past. She excused her non-participation on this occasion by claiming:

E: I just wasn't really in the right frame of mind to take a singaround.

Ellie also described how singarounds worked, with an organiser pointing at the people who volunteered to sing to tell them when to take their turn: in effect members of the audience transforming themselves into performers. However, Ellie found that the session did peter out after a while, as she said does tend to happen, when the volunteers had all performed and other people were unwilling to take over. The performers were thus turning themselves back into audience members and the whole gathering then reverted back to the roles of punters in a pub, albeit still part of the festival crowd, rather than participators in a singaround. Anthony from FolkFest confirmed this account by reporting on the character of the singarounds he had been to, referring particularly to the sessions which specify songs with choruses as their content:

A: There is no audience *per se* because everybody takes a turn at being a singer.

Callum was kept very busy as FolkFest:

C: I was dancing all day. I was either busking or teaching workshops or getting changed to dance again.

He still, however, found time to revert to being a punter at the late-night ceilidhs as illustrated above. Although Callum reported that some members of his side had complained of perhaps being worked too hard over the weekend, he claimed that he would rather go to a festival as a performer than as a punter as 'I like to have a purpose' and he explained that he had particularly enjoyed teaching (yet another role requiring intense social interaction) the workshops 'the enjoyment of teaching other people and the way they picked it up was great'.

Although stewarding rather than dancing at FolkFest, David highlighted the social aspects of attending a festival as a member of a Morris side:

D: If you go with a side or a band you get a different level of social life. 'Cause I'm wandering around in the evening thinking well what am I going to do with myself there's nothing on for another hour. Whereas you get little villages in the campsite and you all sit round together and someone's got some beer and someone's got some wine and you've got a couple of musicians there. So you get a very pleasant social aspect of it by going with a group but you lose on the flexibility and freedom to go wandering.

Alan from PopFest drew out the contrast between his usual role as a company managing director with being able to let other aspects of his personality show at the festival, which he related to the feeling of relaxation and trust identified earlier:

A: It's an opportunity for three or four days at the festival to do something completely different. So in my business life I am, you know, you're a certain person and bits of it are playing a role and being able to do just what you want for three or four days in a relatively safe environment is a nice thing to do.

R: So do you feel that you become a different person there at all or just certain bits of you come out?

A: Yeah, certain bits are probably more em, there's probably more emphasis on certain bits from my personality I would say, more emphasis on certain attitudes and behaviours. Like in the field of business you have to be pretty serious and put up a certain persona because you're role modeling, you're leading, that's the thing. Emmm and I quite like to have a break from that some time and not have to worry about being watched if you know what I mean.

The role of festival attendee was also played by local residents who purchased tickets, and sometimes by local non-ticket holders too, particularly at FolkFest where a full programme of free public events was available. Several of the PopFest interviewees and one of the FolkFest interviewees did live in the vicinity of the festival, so could be termed 'locals', but had chosen to camp at the event, forming yet another role sub-category. A division in role between locals and non-locals was discernible from some of the participants' comments.

Highlighting the difference between staying at a festival and attending as a short-term visitor, Meg from FolkFest who lived not far from OperaFest and had attended one of its operas that year, commented:

M: I know it's a festival but it has a different feel to me because I'm not staying there.

She added that she saw camping as an integral part of the festival experience at FolkFest. Both FolkFest and OperaFest were integrated town-based festivals which offered the opportunity for festival visitors to rub shoulders socially with non-festival-attending local residents or non-festival holidaymakers. Although PopFest was also in an urban area, only ticket holders were able to get past the security guards at the entrances, although even from that festival, some of the participants chose to go off-site to buy food or go to the bank, for example, thus mixing with local residents.

Although there appeared to be many local people watching the festival procession at FolkFest and local school children were involved in events at FolkFest, only three people out of two hundred or so in the auditorium raised their hands when asked how many were locals by a musician during an indoor FolkFest concert open only to ticket holders. One potential interviewee approached by the interviewer turned out to be a local resident and spoke of 'putting up with the festival'. David from FolkFest hinted at some animosity between folk festival goers and local people when he spoke about guarding against 'the tricks that locals get up to to get in for free' and Callum was slightly worried about walking through the town late at night:

C: ...when suddenly you discover you're wearing these folkie trousers that seemed a good idea at the time.

The researcher also overheard disparaging remarks about dress from local people when some of the Morris dancers were making their way to the start of the procession.

However, social bridges between festival goers and non-festival locals were built on at least one occasion: Sophie from FolkFest talked about 'converting the local lads' after 'invading their space' in the pub with an impromptu dance team.

The festivals therefore appeared to be locations where the roles were played out and where people flitted between roles such as spectator, performer or worker. In an added dimension, festival audiences also straddled local and non-local in composition, sometimes causing tension between the two categories.

6.2.7. Role playing and social interplay

As well as playing a variety of roles themselves, festival visitors also regarded the performers and organizers through the festival lens, with several of the interviewees from all of the festivals talking about their social interactions with the people playing those roles and indicating that this was another factor which played a role in their

festival experience. Although, as discussed above, the majority of the FolkFest interviewees were performers themselves, Kath did mention how impressed some of her friends seemed to be by musicians, and how their role acted as an encouragement to socialising:

K: I do find the men in our group like to talk to people that have got an instrument in their hands or have just been playing. So quite often we'll have conversations, we'll get chatting to people who have just played something because of that.

Similarly, Maureen from OperaFest was keen to refer to the Festival Director and Musical Director by their first names, as well as to report conversations with them and with members of the opera cast: 'the soloists don't mind chatting and the chorus members don't mind chatting'. Jill from OperaFest also described how she had 'formed some reasonably good friendships with musicians', having met them over the division between the audience and the orchestra pit when she was sitting in her preferred front row seats. Barry was very proud of his conversation with famous soprano Dame Joan Sutherland during a book signing, when he told the performer that he had seen one of her very first professional performances. PopFest participants also highlighted the performing role of their friends, with Lucy, for example, telling of how she had been a bridge between members of her former boyfriend's band and her own friends 'and my friends are all really good friends with the band and stayed friends and everything'. Ruth from PopFest recounted how she had spoken to members of one of the bands after she had seen them around the festival after their performance and despite regarding them as performers rather than punters, 'they were really just very nice people'.

Festivals therefore appear to be locations where divisions between groups such as between performers and audience members or attendees and non-attendees may be broken down.

6.2.8. Dress and social interplay

As explained above, the social interplay between festival attendees took various forms. This section will review the participants' perceptions on the role of dress, both their own and others', as a possible factor of their social interplay and thus of their festival experience.

When asked whether they felt that they fitted in at the festival, only one from each of PopFest and FolkFest answered in the negative. Amongst the PopFest participants, this was Daniel, although he did add that he felt it was 'comfortable enough to be around them' despite the 'conservatism' of the crowd. Daniel also struggled with reconciling his desire to display his 'slightly more left-field' look with a need to fit in with the three friends he attended PopFest with: 'There's no point in me looking completely out of odds with the other people I hang around with'. Similarly, despite attempting to push the boundaries slightly with his dress at PopFest by showing off tattoos and wearing slightly tighter-fitting tops than for work, he did purchase a straw hat at the festival, along with many other festival goers:

D: I mean straw hats were a big thing and I had every intention of buying one while I was there and then when I got there loads of people had actually already bought them so I was slightly reticent to buy one at that stage. I did end up buying one but it wasn't an ideal situation because it just looked like I was copying everybody else.

Kath from FolkFest was also determined not to fit in with the rest of the festival audience by 'not dressing to look like a folkie because actually that's the last thing I'd want to look like'. Confirming her feeling of difference, she commented: 'I've never felt an affinity with anybody there', although she did admit that she found some of the people fascinating and 'if they want to have a chat that's fine'. In a similar style to Daniel from PopFest, Kath also summed up the FolkFest crowd:

R: What's your impression of the kind of norms of [FolkFest] goers?

K: I actually think they're probably quite poor because they all look scruffy and they all look like they've been dressed by [a charity]. They don't seem to have aspirations, probably from the way they dress, the way they speak. They don't drive up in their fast cars and try to impress. It's not like that. They're all wandering around with their tankards and their long frocks and their pieced-together clothes that they've made themselves.

She was adamant that she would not dress in what she saw as a folky style and the researcher did note that Kath was dressed in a similar 'golf club' style to her companions. However, whilst acknowledging the style similarities, she would not admit that she was consciously dressing to fit in with them:

R: I thought your whole group was fairly smartly dressed, was it to blend in more with your friends then perhaps or does that not occur to you?

K: No. They might be blending in with me [laughs]. Actually, it's funny but they might.

Of the OperaFest participants, almost all were not enamoured of the other members of the audiences. Keith was particularly scathing about his fellow festival goers:

K: This is my *bête noir*, you know, the audience. You're very much kind of uh amidst em upper middle-class I would say, people uh baring about and thinking they have the right of way and it's like that all over.

R: So you think that people are upper middle class then really?

K: Well I think that's their image of themselves. It's the sort of festival to which people wanting to keep their end up go really. That's my view.

However, despite his disapproval of the crowd, Keith did admit to fitting in with this culture himself:

K: I just think that I might as well be as rude as they are [laughs]

R: You're perpetuating it you see [laughs]

K: Yes I am, aren't I [laughs]

Lydia's view of the OperaFest audience chimed with that of Keith:

L: I thought one or two people hadn't improved with age. Sort of a bit selfish and autocratic. They're obviously all middle class or upper that also like to dress up and uh that are typical [laughs] opera audiences I would think. [deep sigh] There are lots of old ladies umm and single men that go to [OperaFest].

Like Keith, Lydia also admitted that she probably fitted in with the audience, at least in age terms, 'though I hope I don't look quite as ancient as some of them [laughs]', as well as due to the fact that they all have similar tastes:

R: Do you feel that the people there are similar to you in their outlooks and values and so on at all?

L: Well I suppose there's a ...I don't know ... they must be mustn't they. They must be similar or they wouldn't be going to see fairly esoteric operas.

Barry, Clive, Janice and Roy all similarly attempted to distance themselves from the other members of the OperaFest audience; either wishing some would make more effort with their dress (Barry), assuming a lack of 'community of interest' with them (Clive), despairing at the predominantly elderly age group (Janice), or expressing amusement at their lack of knowledge of opera (Roy).

Despite this assertion of a lack of alignment with other members of the OperaFest audience, there seemed to be a general agreement on, as well as adhesion to, the style of dress which was deemed appropriate. The male OperaFest participants explained that they tended to dress in a similar style to their everyday wear, although these did tend to range from smart casual to jacket and tie amongst the participants; whilst the females tended to get more dressed up than usual to 'look the part' (Lydia).

Standing out slightly through dressing more, rather than less, smartly than many of the other men, Barry from OperaFest tended to wear his habitual bow tie and sports jacket

to OperaFest. He asserted: 'Well it's me and that's all there is to it', and confirmed that he felt comfortable and happy there, despite his lack of conformity. It was generally understood that wearing a full dinner suit and black tie was not appropriate for OperaFest, and both Keith and Geoff commented that they thought it was possible to identify corporate sponsors attending for the evening from their obvious discomfort at getting the dress code wrong.

The female participants from OperaFest tended to distinguish their festival dress from their day-to-day attire. Christine, Sylvia and Jill spoke of 'dressing up', Janice mentioned 'making an effort' and Maureen maintained that 'looking nice' was important when attending the operas. Maureen expanded by explaining that:

M: A lot of us are fairly conscious that it's lovely for everybody else if people look as if they're sort of thinking it's something special. I think perhaps my husband would have gone being much more casual until I said to him: "Right. Jacket". We don't go looking a mess. There are some clothes now I do not take to [OperaFest]. So we definitely have our smarter casual wear and in the evenings if the weather is good, we definitely try, my husband will wear a bow tie to go to the opera and I will wear a long dress. And a lot of people do. Not everybody. I've got quite a few long summery dresses or long outfits or attractive trousers and tops. I don't actually have an anorak with me. I might have an umbrella or a discreet plastic mac and we tend to buy a holdall each year in the festival shop. This year it was a [local stately home] canvas bag and you can carry that around with you and you can stow a couple of plastic macs and your sandwiches in that.

Jill said she was keen not to stand out at OperaFest due to her dress, typically choosing a silk trouser suit, and Sylvia confirmed that her outfit would be smart 'cruise' style wear and in line with what she would wear to a concert or opera at her local city theatre.

Most of the FolkFest participants also tended to raise their game style-wise for the festival, although in a different way from the OperaFest interviewees. Matt for example, explained: 'I've got some shirts that I mainly wear at festivals' and a waxed drover's hat 'I've

had mine twelve years and now everyone's copying me'. David also confirmed: 'I've probably got a different choice of t-shirts that I take to a festival, perhaps some more folkie ones'. Matt contrasted folk festival style with street style: 'you don't really go to a folk festival in your baseball cap and your £200 trainers', whilst Callum also noted that folk style was 'anything that's not chav'. Both Callum and Anthony mentioned wearing 'folkie trousers' for some festival events, although they also both acknowledged that these were not really suitable for non-festival wear 'I would primarily wear my turquoise trousers to embarrass my daughter' (Anthony) and 'I did start walking around Tesco's but it got a bit rich with all the people staring at me' (Callum). The female FolkFest participants also consciously dressed up for the festival, as Sophie explained:

S: I probably do sort of dress up a bit for the ceilidhs, just because I like the opportunity to do so. I quite like the whole thing of having festival clothes which are perhaps a bit brighter and more exuberant than my normal clothes. I suppose it's just about being a bit of a show-off and enjoying wearing something that's perhaps a bit louder and prouder.

Alice's festival style was also slightly different from her 'more toned down' university style and could include tie-dye or tribal design t-shirts and:

A: I tend to choose more Celticky clothes. I like Celtic design, quite neutral colours, that's the sort of thing I dress in anyway. But at festivals you can sort of let yourself go a bit more than that and I might wear jeans and a skirt over the top of them, and things like that, which normally people sort of stare but you don't care what you look like. It's quite nice. It's a way of expressing yourself.

Also wearing clothes that she felt were appropriate to social dancing at folk festivals, Meg spoke of an emphasis on colour, with full skirts that moved nicely and strappy tops due to the heat of dancing. She also admitted:

M: You wouldn't wear the skirts anywhere else really. We've often said that you'd never go out like that dressed in such a weird way you know dressed in a full skirt and lace-up

shoes, but nobody bothers and you're wearing the lace-up shoes because it's comfortable and they'll stay on.

All of these FolkFest participants felt that they fitted in at the festival, as did Alice who explained:

A: A lot of people do wear outrageous things, colourful bright tops, but you'd probably want to dress that way just to fit in, whereas wearing black and looking gothic you'd probably get laughed at.

In slight contrast to Alice's view that it was important to dress in a certain way to fit in, Ellie's comments summed up the mixture of styles at FolkFest, which she felt allowed anyone to wear what they wanted and still feel comfortable:

E: I don't think it's possible to feel out of place because everybody is just so easy-going about it. There's always a big mix of people. You've got your people who just dress casually, you've got your people who sort of go well into it and get all the sort of tie-dye or you know folkie clothes and that. And then you've got your Morris dancers there and your clog dancers and such and they're wearing all the costumes.

David from FolkFest also highlighted the presence of festival guests in 'ordinary' clothes, maintaining that 'in a lot of ways folk is quite a middle class activity'. He divided the festival crowd into those who lead 'fairly itinerant lifestyles on benefits and with not much money and look a bit weird and wear tatty old clothes' and the 'professional people to different degrees, a lot of engineers, a lot of teachers, who just wear ordinary dress, some with a few badges' unless they are in their Morris dancing kit due to being 'in the scene'. Matt confirmed that many of the FolkFest attendees are professionals, 'accountants or people with high-powered jobs', as did Anthony and Sophie, although Matt found it unlikely that many 'high-powered salesmen' or 'classic sort of townie' people would be on the folk scene. The difficulties of identifying folk festival attendees' occupations was highlighted by Matt, however, as he admitted that 'you never know until you actually speak to people at

festivals who they are or what they do' and he thought it likely that people who are considered to be misfits by normal society would often be found at folk festivals, where they could be more natural and open. Anthony, using an example from a past canal boat holiday with his folk festival-related friends, also highlighted the difficulties that others have with understanding that folk fans are often from professional middle class backgrounds:

A: We were sat in a pub one day and we were all singing away and one of the locals said to my friend Paul "so this is what you lot all do then? You travel round the country and pick up your gigs in different places?" [laughs] And Paul said "No, well that guy over there owns his own company with about a five million pound a year turnover, that over there is a senior nurse, that's a doctor, that guy runs a hospital" you know and it was interesting to see the perception".

Colin, Hannah, Charlotte, Ruth and Madeline all commented that the PopFest crowd was a diverse mix of people whom it was difficult to categorise from their appearance, perhaps partly due to Stephen and Madeline's view that there was 'a look' for festivals (Stephen) and that 'everyone was going for the same look' (Madeline). Although most of the PopFest interviewees reported that they had taken their usual everyday leisure wear, there were hints that a certain amount of 'dressing down' was *de rigour*. Stephen, Charlotte and Ben explained their festival clothes selection criteria:

S: It's pretty much what you're willing to get dirty because you're never quite sure of the forecast.

...

C: Clothes that I don't mind getting a bit damp and potentially muddy, so I suppose not quite my decorating or gardening clothes but not my Sunday best.

...

B: Last year's t-shirts, stuff I don't mind getting muddy.

Company director, Alan also summed up his festival style:

A: Because I wear a suit every day of the week when I go to something like this, I will probably consciously dress down I suppose as a reaction to that.

Madeline highlighted the general dressed-down PopFest style, comparing her festival style to others':

M: Not caring what I really looked like, that was good. I quite enjoyed that [laugh]. And no-one else cared. I thought, oh no, I'm going to be such a mess, my hair's going to be such a mess. I usually wash my hair every day because it's horrible otherwise. But no-one else seemed to care and I just didn't care. Literally. I mean that first morning I woke up and I didn't care because no-one else cared [laugh]. I looked at everyone else and I thought, I'm sure I can't look as bad as that so I thought maybe I look alright.

Although none of the FolkFest participants contrasted the personal style in evidence at the festival under study with that at other folk festivals or folk events, several of the PopFest and OperaFest participants highlighted perceived differences between each of those two festivals and others.

Daniel, for example, summed up his disappointment with the PopFest crowd, comparing them to the extremes of the Reading and Glastonbury audiences, although he had not actually been to Glastonbury:

D: In terms of style of everybody else, I think that [PopFest] is quite, I dunno, couple-y and people who are there are generally quite, I don't know, quite mainstream, quite dull is a bit harsh, but they're not, I don't think they're ever going to wear anything overly controversial. It's going to be quite safe clothing and it's quite practical and they turn up and they've brought their picnic blankets and cagoules and things like that and they're prepared for every eventuality and I think that it's very different to Reading and Glastonbury and places like that. I think you get that element of it but it's certainly not the extremes that you get at other festivals.

Alan from PopFest also identified differences between the Glastonbury audience, which

he had attended several times, with its 'alternative people' contingent to the audience at PopFest where he felt that:

A: Most people were middle class and reasonably affluent. It was quite a white Anglo-Saxon audience. It didn't have any of the extremes.

However, he did remark that his dress code was similar for both Glastonbury and PopFest, with perhaps the addition of walking boots for Glastonbury. Also noting differences in festival style, Ben from PopFest noted that the audience at the dance festival, Glade, would be identifiable from clothing featuring 'bright colours and luminous paints that glow in the dark', which could be contrasted with the PopFest audience's more 'indie-emo' style. He explained the festival dress code for a 'good festival':

B: You want to look decent while you're walking around a festival, especially a good festival anyway, definitely. You don't wear tatty, well if you wear tatty clothes, you wear fashionable tatty clothes.

Ben thought that PopFest was 'a very well dressed festival', although not as 'high-fashion' as a London or Brighton-based festival: 'you could sort of tell you were up north by the way people were dressed'.

Also aware of the different dress codes of the London-based English National Opera (ENO), and the London-based Royal Opera House, as compared to the northern OperaFest, Roy was particularly conscious of dressing for each occasion, explaining that attendance at the ENO required a t-shirt 'to show it's not the Royal Opera House', whilst for OperaFest he felt compelled to wear a jacket and tie:

Roy: You can dress in anything to go to the ENO. There's no set er [~]. Some people turn up thinking it's the Royal Opera House and in dinner jackets and feel way out of it. But it's very rare. You can wear anything to go there.

Res: So at [OperaFest] then, what makes you wear your suit – your jacket and tie then?

Roy: Well I suppose in a sense to fit in with the audience a bit more [laughs].

Whilst Roy reckoned that to fit in with the OperaFest audience he needed to dress up more than usual, Christine, Barry and Jill from OperaFest all identified other opera festivals which required raising the game still further in dress terms:

B: If I see anyone in an ordinary suit at Glyndebourne, ohhh they DO stand out.

...

J: It depends on the festival. If you go to Schwartzenburg in Austria for example, they dress up quite seriously and you don't want to stand out. If you didn't get it right, you'd feel people would be staring at you [laugh]. So it just depends how thick-skinned you are.

Barry explained that he felt that this desire to dress appropriately added to the enjoyment of the occasion:

B: I think if you like to go to Glyndebourne there's something that gives you that extra lift if you're dressed perhaps in the manner 'I might have a glass of champagne or something'. To me that's an experience in itself and it complements the opera.

Also comparing the OperaFest audience to that of Glyndebourne, Geoff's opinion was that they were much the same 'typical middle class' people:

G: It's the same sort of audience you'd see almost anywhere. If you took the dinner jackets off the people at Glyndebourne, it's the same sort of audience as Glyndebourne frankly, or at Chichester Theatre Festival, etcetera, etcetera.

In summary, it seems, there is a fair amount of dressing to fit in at each of these festivals, with an emphasis, amongst the participants, on 'dressing up' at OperaFest, 'dressing down' at PopFest and 'dressing louder' at FolkFest. Although there will be a contingent in 'ordinary' clothes at each festival, often the 'ordinary' clothes of that participant fitted in with the general style of the festival audience members, anyway.

Beneath the surface of dress, there seemed to be a general opinion that there is a

preponderance of middle class professionals at each of the festivals, albeit each set with a different expressed musical taste. The majority of the PopFest and FolkFest participants felt that they fitted in with the rest of the audience, whilst although few of the OperaFest participants felt that they fitted in ‘below the surface’, they all made an effort to fit in ‘on the surface’. This feeling, on the part of the participants, of audience coherence at each festival, could be considered as playing a role in the festival experience.

6.2.9. Festival after-talk

As well as considering social interactions before and during the festival, it should not be forgotten that the research participants’ anticipation of the potential social interactions after the festival may also have played a role in their festival experience. As the research interviews took place after the festivals, it was possible to explore participants’ accounts of their festival after-talk, which will be reported here.

Only a few of the research participants had been particularly keen to tell everyone in detail about the festival they had attended. For example, Barry from OperaFest had told his relatives all about it, Geoff from OperaFest had been keen to spread the word about the festival and to encourage others to go the following year, Madeline from PopFest had talked afterwards with the friends with whom she had gone, and Colin from PopFest had encouraged other parents to take their children the following year.

When there was talk about the festivals, the participants had gauged carefully whom to tell what, as Christine from OperaFest explained:

C: Different things for different people I think. Friends of mine who are opera friends themselves will talk about the operas and what they were like and the rest of it, the odd friend who knows the [area] will ask about what [the area] was like and people who know [the town] will ask if [the town] still looks the same and so it’s all different depending on

who we're talking to.

Both Lydia and Jill had been reluctant to mention their visit to OperaFest to others, as 'We don't have many friends who would find it interesting' (Lydia) and 'not really at work because I haven't got anybody who would be interested' (Jill), although Jill did say she spoke to other non-work friends about the festival. Lydia expanded by saying:

L: You keep your opera side of your interest fairly quiet really. They are minority interests aren't they and um people have ideas about people who like opera so unless you're with a like-minded group I don't think you talk about it much.

Maureen from OperaFest explained that she had a different reason for not telling many people about the festival, although there was also a sense of competitiveness:

R: Did you tell anyone where you'd been?

M: Well we've got two friends who go to Glyndebourne and do really think they have a wonderful time. I don't want to tell them too much about [OperaFest]. I'm quite happy for them to keep going to Glyndebourne and we have [OperaFest] which is sort of our special place.

Like Lydia from OperaFest, David from FolkFest was also selective in whom he spoke to after the event due to his perception of people regarding folk music as a minority interest:

D: You get the usual question, you know, what did you do at the weekend and did you have a good weekend and folk is one of those things where its image goes up and down and some people you only have to say you went to a folk event and their eyes glaze over and there's really no point in continuing the conversation. Others are interested and you get shades in between. But it tends to be treated, rather unfortunately, at the moment as rather a specialist thing.

R: Mm. What about your Morris dancing as well, if you tell people you've been Morris dancing, do they have any opinion on that?

D: Ye-es. Em, a lot of people, well it's generally better to tell people that when they've

known you for a while. Em and then they realize that you're not that much of a freak after all.

Anthony and Holly from FolkFest were both relaxed about whether or not they would talk to people about their folk festival experiences:

A: I wouldn't specifically go out of my way to go and talk to somebody [about it].

...

H: I'm not really bothered about talking to people about it.

Sophie from FolkFest explained that although she and her folkie friends definitely discuss ceilidhs and gigs and so on, she had spoken in more general terms to her work colleagues about her folk festival visits:

L: Did you tell people at work anything about [the festival] much? I mean do you talk about it at work?

S: I do a bit. I think they sort of smile and nod and go oh Sophie's weird hobby and then we laugh about another colleague who does stamp collecting. I don't think I've ever encountered hostility from colleagues. I mean I think a lot of them think it's quite weird [~] but [~] I think a lot of people have hobbies that other people think are weird. Because quite often if you're from the outside looking in, you don't really know about it.

Callum from FolkFest, who worked in the building trade, described how he countered colleagues' attitudes about his Morris dancing:

C: I find that being open and honest and bold about it leaves them actually no way of being able to take the piss.

Similarly to Christine from OperaFest, both Ellie and Kath from FolkFest also oriented their talk to their audience by concentrating on general stories for work colleagues, rather than talking about the music itself:

E: I'll pick out a couple of stories they can relate to but I don't sort of go into detail about it because I don't think it's really their scene and it's not something that they really understand.

Like Sophie though, she would discuss the music in more detail with those who were 'very well into the music'.

Continuing the pattern, Stephen from PopFest tended to gauge his post-festival storytelling to how interested his audience were, although he reported having an in-depth conversation with one colleague, with whom he 'got on well', and who had listened to part of PopFest on the radio. Although Mike reported having been able to boast about seeing a band at PopFest which one of his colleagues had mentioned, in general he found that people had no interest in hearing about his experiences there:

M: ...because no-one had heard about it, the festival, OK if it's Glastonbury then tell me about it, but otherwise...

Hannah from PopFest was also reticent about talking about the music with her colleagues and friends, and just talked generally to a few people about the event because:

H: I didn't know if they would know the bands I was talking about anyway.

This view was echoed by Daniel from PopFest:

D: They might ask a token question about whether I enjoyed myself but I don't think they were overly interested in sort of who I watched and things like that because we don't have similar music taste.

Ben from PopFest, who had been at the festival for work purposes rather than through choice of music, explained that he and his friends were more interested in dance-style music, so: 'They really don't like rock music and weren't impressed by Pigeon Detectives or what not', although the same friends had 'definitely' been impressed when he had gone

back after the Glade [dance music] festival and reported back.

Ruth did, however, report that her young daughter had been able to impress her friends at school by talking about some of the bands she had seen at PopFest and 'it's given her quite a buzz to be able to say she saw all these people'. Madeline had also been enthusiastic in her post-festival talk, although her music-related talk was mostly to her close music-related friends and her work talk related to her seeing her boyfriend's band play.

It seems therefore that festival after-talk, if it occurred at all, was not particularly related to the music the participants had experienced, but was more general in nature, unless it was part of a conversation with friends or colleagues who were already interested in that particular style of music.

6.2.10. Conclusion

In conclusion, relaxing in the festival settings appeared to have provided the participants with the opportunity to strengthen relationships with the friends and family members they attended with. The chance for after-talk to people of like mind also provided the chance to strengthen relationships with already known people.

As well as meeting people they already knew at the festival, new people were also met, with comments about the music being used as a bridge. However, participants commented that although the relaxed feel of the festivals made chat with completely unknown people more likely than at non-festival events, these contacts tended to be fleeting and not sustained after the festival.

Role playing as performers and workers was particularly prevalent at FolkFest, although also in evidence at OperaFest and PopFest too, and seemed to have further encouraged social interplay both by and with the role players. The participants almost all felt that they fitted in at the festival they attended, and tended to use dress to strengthen this.

Chapter 7: A taste for festival music

7. Introduction

This third data exploration chapter looks at the interviewees' accounts of their music tastes, particularly relating these to their festival attendance. It looks at how their music taste, particularly a taste for the music of the festival, was formed. Together these sections will enable the links between music taste and the festival experience to be investigated.

Part 1 therefore examines the content of the codes in which their views on music from a variety of genres are expressed. Part 2 looks at their experiences which were coded as being relating to the role of family, school and friends in the development of their tastes in relation to the music of their festival.

7.1. Part 1: The music palette

7.1.1. Introduction

This section of the chapter will look at interviewees' comments relating to their music palette at the time of the interview, as well as the evidence they offered of their recent music consumption. These will be examined in relation to their festival experience. The participants' opinions on music quality, particularly focusing on their comparisons of different genres of music will also be reported.

7.1.2. Music choices

Several of the OperaFest participants focused almost exclusively on opera as their choice of music both at and outside the festival, and some were vehement in their rejection of other music genres. Roy from OperaFest, for example, dismissed anything other than opera with a high degree of negativity:

Res: Do you have any other tastes, you know, do you listen to pop music or jazz or

Roy: No.

Res: Folk [~]. Anything like blues, or

Roy: Not really no. Sorry about that.

Roy explained that he attended virtually every opera performance by the English National Opera each year, as well as an occasional performance at the Royal Opera House. Similarly, Lydia from OperaFest asserted that her taste was also highly focused on opera:

L: We wouldn't just go for a general sort of orchestral concert or something like that

R: So it does tend to be opera then that you go to rather than

L: Very largely, yes, yes.

R: Oh right so you don't go to anything else then?

L: No. No.

Other OperaFest participants were less emphatic in their focus purely on opera, although usually their tastes were still within the classical music area. Geoff for example, rated choral, piano and orchestral music alongside opera as his preferred music, whilst Christine asserted: 'we regularly go to classical concerts'. Keith provided a long list of recent opera and concert performances he had attended. Clive occasionally attended classical music concerts, having been to four or five the previous year, but tended to do most of his listening via recorded music at home. He emphasized his commitment to classical music and opera, with an occasional foray into jazz, by his rejection of other genres: 'I can't stand folk'; and 'I'm not very keen on pop music'. Clive, in common with several of the other OperaFest participants, was emphatic in his preference of focused listening to pieces of music rather than having them as background to driving or other activities.

Although Janice, who only attended one of the operas at OperaFest, was familiar with her local opera venues, it was not clear whether she had actually been to opera other than OperaFest during the year or so previous to the interview as she struggled to remember the previous occasion.

J: Emmm gosh the one before OperaFest. I'm not quite sure what that would have been. I think the one before OperaFest was...

Amongst the OperaFest participants, Janice, Jill and Sylvia all mentioned occasionally listening to music other than opera, although Janice's motivation for this variation was her work as a jazz dance teacher, which caused her to use, as an accompaniment, a range of music, from the contemporary classical Philip Glass to the more popular Eurythmics. Both Jill and Sylvia stressed that their consumption of other types of music was of lower importance to them than their consumption of opera. Jill, for example, despite professing affection for the calypso and folk songs experienced during her childhood in the West Indies, stressed that she would not attend a folk festival or choose something from this genre as a 'Desert Island Disc':

J: ...because it wouldn't keep you going. I mean I do love calypso and I like the truth and simplicity that good folk songs provide. But I don't go to folk song festivals and they don't take me through the way classical music does.

Sylvia indicated that she was highly committed to opera as well as being happy to travel to Europe to see performances:

S: I'm always on the lookout for operas I haven't seen.

She also mentioned Joan Baez's folk-style anti-war songs as a strong interest. She lamented not having gone to see Baez perform at the Cambridge Folk Festival that year, a venue not far from her home. However the attraction to her of Baez could perhaps be contrasted with that of the classical composer, Benjamin Britten, as she had not made

any effort to purchase tickets for Baez, in contrast to her attempts to obtain tickets for the performance of Britten's 'Death in Venice' at Aldeburgh ('I'm a real Britten freak'). Sylvia also occasionally listened to The Beatles and other sixties pop music 'if I'm busy and I need geeing up', as well as to songs from shows, which she appears to regard as low in the cultural hierarchy, rating Lloyd Webber-type show songs as 'quite corny' and something that 'my husband would never listen to in a hundred years'. She and her husband also attended jazz performances locally too.

As well as showing a strong orientation to only opera or classical style music, several of the OperaFest participants also expressed negativity towards folk. Geoff, who claimed to have a 'vast opera collection' at home, for example, asserted: 'I've never been a folk music fan'; and Maureen, who had sung worldwide with prestigious choirs, commented, less strongly: 'I don't think I've ever been to a folk concert'. Pop music was also explicitly not favoured by several of the OperaFest participants, such as Jill and Maureen:

J: I wouldn't go to a pop concert.

...

M: I wouldn't go to one of these rock concerts or anything.

FolkFest participants tended to be more eclectic in their music taste than the OperaFest participants, although folk music did emerge strongly as the favoured genre for all except Kath, who preferred popular music, particularly of the punk and post-punk style, although she did admit to a liking for folk-rock. Interests in classical music or opera tended to be less intensive than those of the OperaFest participants, however, with attendance at performances of these genres being rare, and unlike most of the OperaFest attendees, rock and pop did feature in some of their taste palettes.

Alice from FolkFest, for example, illustrated her taste range, which encompassed pop, country and show tunes, although no mention of classical or opera:

A: I'd probably put my ipod on shuffle and see what came up. I like Shania Twain. I like the Sex Pistols [laugh], I like everything in between. I love the Disney soundtrack, that's always nice. If I'm in a chill-out mood I'll put the Disney soundtrack on.

Holly from FolkFest explained that although she was most likely to play folk or rock music at home, as well as attend folk sessions in pubs or ceilidhs at Cecil Sharp House, she had also attended metal music festivals, and biker rallies which featured alternative music, as well as finding classical music relaxing to fall asleep to. Aligning her view of 'normality' with that of fellow 'folkies', although not stating explicitly that she agreed with all of their tastes, Holly illustrated the range of music favoured by her friends.

R: So how do you see that fitting in with folk?

H: Well a lot of the people I know like trance music and hardhouse and things like that and then there's others who like rock and metal and things like that. But with folkies it does tend to go from one extreme to the other. So it's quite normal to like different things.

Holly was also open to trying out all sorts of music events, although she did not provide evidence of attending anything other than folk-related events:

R: So is there any particular music or arts events that you definitely wouldn't go to, just in terms of your taste and so on?

H: No I'd give everything a try.

Similarly, James also reckoned that his tastes were diverse, counting folk, classical music and opera amongst his favoured plays, although rejecting pop music. His taste in opera tended towards the 'lighter' pieces, and he favoured Classic FM in the car, reserving folk music cds for playing on a cd player at folk festivals. Matt from FolkFest also listed classical music alongside folk and metal amongst his interests, although he used it in a less usual way:

R: Do you listen to classical music at all as well?

M: Occasionally. I've got quite a bit of Mozart in the cellar cos I mix a bit. I DJ a little bit and I like mixing my classical in with banging four time, that's in techno. So there's everything from Beethoven's Fifth to Carmen's Il Fortuno and there's quite an array scattered around the house.

Anthony, also from FolkFest, talked about building on, rather than losing, earlier tastes for seventies rock such as Led Zeppelin and The Who, although he claimed he would choose a folk artist to listen to above anything else:

A: But I must say, if I have a choice of anything, more often than not it will be a folk artiste of some description that I will be listening to.

Sophie from FolkFest also highlighted the building of her varied taste, the influences on which ranged from an early love of country and western, a phase of choral music, and a weak interest in classical music ('I listen to some'), although not in pop music. Meg, also from FolkFest, was not at all interested in pop music, but did listen to other types of music. She reported enjoying opera: an opera cd was playing as the interviewer arrived at her house; she sang in a choir and took singing lessons; and she had been a keen classical concert attendee for many years; and had also used music in her former career as a primary school teacher. Shaun from FolkFest, who was very keen on folk music and occasionally listened to heavy metal, was attracted to the concept of live opera but had not attended any performances or listened to any opera recordings. As well as encompassing folk, singer-songwriter Ellie from FolkFest, also enjoyed rock and pop music. Ellie had tickets lined up for five pop concerts, but not, for example, for any classical or jazz events.

In the same way as many of the OperaFest participants rejected other genres, David also showed negativity towards non-folk music:

R: And is there any other type of music or particular arts events that you definitely wouldn't go to?

D: I'm not a big lover of classical music. I have tried a few times but em the cds do end up gathering dust and any events I tend not to go back to. Perhaps jazz as well, I'm not, er

R: And what about the rock and pop that you were into when you were young?

D: I think that's probably one of those things, I don't know, you tend to stay with the bands of your generation. I dunno, I might go and listen to some of the bands that er probably if someone very generously paid for me to go and see a Stones concert, you know, I'll probably still keep an interest in that. Ahm, probably not the newer music because I just em I just don't listen to it so I don't know what's out there.

Sophie from FolkFest also rejected Wagnerian opera due to her perception of its lack of subtlety:

S: I like to be able to hear the intricacy in music. I wouldn't go and perhaps listen to a Wagner opera. It's too full on for me. I like to be able to hear the different strands of things going on.

The music interests of the PopFest participants tended to be orientated to variations of popular music, notably the indie-pop style characteristic of many of the festival performers, rather than towards commercial charts-pop, although there was a fairly high degree of interest in, although not particularly high levels of knowledge of, other genres: Stephen, for example, mentioned occasionally playing classical music compilation cds and listening to Classic FM, Alan had listened to a 'reasonable amount of world music'. Similarly, Mike from PopFest had a range of music taste, having attended a folk festival the previous year, where he had been impressed by the 'good musicianship' of many folk performers, and still listened to some of the seventies-style rock and metal he began liking in his teens, as well as to classical music occasionally.

Showing perhaps the most varied music palette of all the participants, Colin from

PopFest, who used music in his work as an assistant occupational therapist, was knowledgeable and keen on a range of music, including the indie-rock of PopFest that he had favoured more recently.

C: I still like a lot of classical. I've got a wide taste in music. I mean I love a lot of things like Elgar and Beethoven and everything and a bit of jazz as well.

R: Is it the contemporary modern jazz or more the traditional?

C: Emm a bit of both really. Well probably more the older jazz like Louis Armstrong and stuff like that, and Count Basie and that. [_] Back in the early 89 90 period we were heavily into the sort of dance music thing, so we'd go clubbing, dance clubbing, and then go to the odd rave and stuff like that.

R: Is there any sort of music that you really dislike, you know that stands out to you?

C: Emm. Not really. I'm not over-keen on Country and Western. There can be some parts that are all right but your normal Dolly Parton and all the old stuff, I just don't like the music.

R: I quite like the newer style, sort of alt-country I think they call it.

C: Yeah there's groups like Bright Eyes that use a lot of sort of country music sort of bits in it but you wouldn't recognize it as Country and Western. But no, I can listen to most types of music really. There's a lot of it I don't like. I mean heavy rock, I don't like that sort of your Iron Maiden and stuff like that, but then I like AC-DC and Motorhead and that so. I've never liked boy bands like Take That.

Charlotte from PopFest was also in possession of a wide ranging music palette, having retained an interest in folk music after playing her flute at folk festivals in the past, as well as being an attendee of opera and classical and jazz concerts.

C: Obviously I've played you know your typical classics, you know learning the piano, and then on the flute was doing classical stuff and then a range you know from early baroque music from sort of the 17th century through to 20th century stuff. I would say that it's the same thing now, my main interest and my main sort of activity in terms of what I listen to

tends to be classical music particularly choral music now because I'm very involved in the singing and that's my main area of interest now rather than the piano or the flute. But I don't really keep track of what's in the charts or whatever.

R: So do you go to classical concerts and maybe opera and things like that as well then?

C: Yeah yeah. I've actually been to Ronnie Scotts a couple of times as well, you know the jazz club in London. I like jazz live, I think it's great when it's live, particularly the more modern styles of jazz. Traditional jazz, you know it's great on cd as well, em, but I think more modern kind of free jazz, it's better live because it's a very organic thing, if it can be described as such.

Apart from attending PopFest, Charlotte claimed not to go to anything live other than classical or jazz concerts outside the festival and only occasionally listened to recordings of a similar style to PopFest. Also musically knowledgeable and interested in a range of music genres, Ben from PopFest demonstrated to the interviewer the high speed beat-per-minute but out-of-time pulse of 'gabber', a form of dance music. Ben liked 'bits of folk' and 'loved' contemporary and classic jazz, and was also keen on 'spoken word poetry' – a combination of poetry and rap - but was not keen on thrash metal or R&B. Describing the performance of spoken word artist Scroobius Pip, Ben showed a high degree of music knowledge:

B: That's a lot why I go in for it as well, the high music calibre, so even though sometimes it can be really really basic but the sounds they've got are nice and rounded sounds or very crisp sounding sounds. For me the calibre of the artist playing the instrument or mixing the sounds together has to be high calibre or it's not pleasing to the ear.

Also adverse to 'everyday pop' and R&B, dance teacher, Madeline, spoke of using a range of music for her work, although was less explicit than Ben about the depth of her music knowledge:

R: So you must listen to classical as well and jazz and stuff?

M: Yeah I do, I do yeah. And I mean I just like lots of different styles but obviously I love

music from musicals and from like shows and things. And I obviously like classical music and eh I like jazz and blues and

R: So apart from when you're dancing, do you put on that kind of music to listen to otherwise?

M: I think I tend to put like em, yeah I do sometimes cos it's on my ipod and I'll just be like oohh I fancy that and I've been listening to Nina Simone loads this week and I've been listening to Peggy Lee for a few weeks before that and then I've got the Beatles on last week I think in the car. I just switch between different things, really I do.

Hannah from PopFest described her taste as being in the 'broad kind of indie music / rock music category', although she said she was getting bored with four piece male guitar groups and preferred something 'a little bit more interesting', such as electronic trip-hop band, Portishead or psychedelic rock band, The Bees. She also expressed a liking for classical music but was unable to back up her interest with any in-depth examples:

R: Do you ever listen to any classical music at all?

H: Sometimes, yeah.

R: Any particular types that you like at all?

H: Uh ... probably ... um ... classic ... um ... classical and romantic I'd say.

Also interested in psychedelic-style 'shoegaze' music as well as non-mainstream popular 'indie'-style music, PopFest participant, Daniel, who also played in a band, saw shoegaze style as slightly more structured than classical music, despite sometimes sharing the same types of instruments:

D: It's all kind of quite obscure but it's em very melodic but also kind of em big kind of walls of noise at some stage as well.

Although he listened to music a lot of the time, Daniel was highly focused on this epic style and preferred to concentrate on this rather than to branch out into other genres:

R: So do you ever listen to anything other than the sort of stuff you've been describing. You know sort of opera or jazz or folk or anything?

D: I don't, but that is literally because I could go back and listen to an album I bought two years ago and listened to it three times and not remember a single track on it. I went through a phase that I'd buy loads of cds a week and listen to them a couple of times, listen to them over and over and then get bored with them, listen to something else but I don't feel I've ever really listened to those albums, so whilst I've got music that I can listen to within the confines of the music that I like...

It seems therefore that, although the participants may have expressed interest in music genres other than those of the festival, their current music palettes, at the time of the interview, with only a couple of exceptions, did tend to be concentrated around the genre of the festival they attended. PopFest participants appeared to be the most likely to consume other types of music too, however. Particularly notable, also, was the influence on their music palette of work-oriented music making of one sort or another, with Meg and Sylvia from OperaFest and Colin and Madeline from PopFest and Matt from FolkFest all using music for these purposes.

7.1.3. Opinions on music quality

As well as exploring their current music palettes, as reported in the previous section, the interviewees were also asked about their attitudes to music of all types, particularly focusing on issues of comparability of the quality of the various genres. This section will therefore report their comments on these issues.

Barry from OperaFest was particularly explicit about the highbrow nature of opera:

B: In fact of course opera is the most complex of all the performing arts. And it's very easy to get one department wrong.

R: Why do you think it's the most complex then?

B: Well because you've got music, singing, acting, staging. You see what I mean? You've

got to pull all that lot together.

Distinguishing levels within the opera genre, Barry saw Gilbert and Sullivan and Strauss as one level 'got to have some relief there', differing from 'grand opera':

B: Now I'm a great believer in [~] I like my opera sung in the vernacular. Now that's grand opera and you have to do your homework in advance.

He was also conscious of what he saw as taste lapses in the past, including the music he played for his 21st birthday, some fifty years before:

B: It's a piece of music I wouldn't now want to be associated with.

Clive rated opera above popular music:

C: Well I don't really see you get the same kind of experience [from pop music].

Again amongst the OperaFest participants, Roy attempted to explain the attraction of opera as compared with musicals:

Roy: Opera has the extra dimension.

Res: How does that compare to say a musical then?

Roy: Well musicals are okay, but when they come down to it, they don't have the same emotional appeal as opera. It's a bit corny the emotional appeal. You don't get tears in your eyes at the end of many musicals [laughs]. Well not in the same way as opera.

Res: So are you saying that the operas are corny, or the musicals are corny?

Roy: Musicals are usually ... aren't as deep as opera. You wouldn't uh ... what shall I say. You get La Boheme, for example. I mean it will be quiet at the end of La Boheme, you know when they die, you know, the music there. But at musicals you tend to have a happy ending. You don't perhaps have the intensity of it.

Although not comparing folk to other genres, Sophie highlighted perceived divisions within folk music when she talked about playing the recorder rather than a tin whistle, putting it down to national affinities:

S: You certainly wouldn't see recorder in Irish music. I've actually had people come up to me in Irish sessions and say oh you play very well but you ought to play the tin whistle. In Irish music there's a lot more, perhaps snobbiness over what instrument you play and sort of only playing Irish tunes. But then again that probably does come from a cultural awareness and especially in London, second generation Irish people would be very, very aware that they're Irish, they're not English. I think it probably just comes from the whole cultural awareness thing that I mentioned, that the recorder isn't an Irish instrument so it's definitely a sort of second to the tin whistle.

David also identified divisions within the folk genre, implying that traditional styles were superior to the modern interpretations, whose supporters he appears to deride:

D: Ahm I like, I like English folk music but I'm fairly picky I think em. I quite enjoyed the performers who were on but for sort of home listening I tend to stay to the fairly traditional older music styles. [_] I think you could probably split the music into perhaps three very broad areas. One is the traditional style, that's people singing modern songs but in the style of the traditional folk singers and they have their own following and quite a lot of hot air is expended by their supporters. You then have the dance music for the celidhs, which is based on traditional music, which is instrumental. There's no singing. Then you get a second category of dance music, which is the Morris style of music. And that tends to be fairly thumpy cos you've got to dance to it ahm but fairly very heavily traditional. Some of the dance tunes are newer but some of them are centuries old. And em I like listening more to the old, I mean I can listen to Morris music all day even if I'm not dancing.

Daniel was the most explicit amongst PopFest participants about hierarchies of music, rating his favoured 'epic' style of music as highbrow:

D: I just think there's a certain amount of snobbery in the music I listen to that I don't think it's music by numbers, I think there's a slight intellect gone into it. It's not something that's been heard before ahm kind of lyrically it's deeper than kind of the every man on the street kind of lyrics...I dunno, something more intriguing's gone into producing that music. It's not just basic.

Like Barry from OperaFest, Daniel looked back to earlier music choices, in his case the

chart music he bought in his teens, wanting to disassociate himself from it:

D: Before that I'd bought music but nothing I'd ever be proud to say I'd bought.

Daniel explained that commercial success in a band would tend to put him off:

D: You like your bands to be successful but if they're too successful then it's kind of I dunno it feels like something's been stripped away slightly and they're not quite your band.

It seems, therefore, that several of the participants were willing to draw on their perceptions of the quality of the various genres of music in order to claim that the type of music they liked was superior to other types of music either from other genres or within their genre of preference. There was also a suggestion that commercialism made music less attractive to some.

7.1.4. The role of the media landscape in the formation of music taste

The role of the life landscape in the formation of music taste will be examined later in this chapter. This section will explore the possible influences of the various music-related media on the formation of their music taste.

The OperaFest participants were likely to rely on printed sources of knowledge to build cultural competence. This preference was also reflected in the provision by the OperaFest organisers of a thick, A4-sized, lavishly illustrated guide to the festival performances, which included copious intellectually-styled synopses and background information. Roy and his wife Sue had recently completed a BA in Opera Studies and supplemented their course materials with 'lots of opera magazines', whilst Clive tended to use the library a lot to read up around the operas he attended: 'after hearing Maria Padilla I read a biography of Donizetti'. Several of the OperaFest participants reported doing 'homework' on operas before they went, using authoritative reference books such as the Grove Dictionary of Opera (Barry, Roy) or Kobbe (Lydia, Sylvia) as well as regularly

taking magazines such as Opera, BBC Music and Gramophone (Barry, Roy, Lydia, Geoff, Maureen) or reading newspaper reviews (Sylvia).

S: I mean obviously you know I've got lots of reference books emm history of music, dictionary of music, that sort of thing.

None of the FolkFest participants reported building their knowledge through this formal education-styled route, with some, such as Holly, not really aware quite where their knowledge had come from:

R: So how do you get to know who are kind of the top ones, or whatever...

H: Well there's Eliza Carthy. I can't remember if she was there...um..but um..because her parents were like brought her up in the folk world...she's well known with like, lots of generations of people...

R: oh so it gets passed down then...

H: yeah

Sophie from FolkFest also tended to rely on a person to person transfer of influence when she emphasised the close relationship between live performance and the recorded music she had purchased when explaining where her folk influences came from:

S: ...it's the things I listen to on CD...it's the things I listen to when I go to live gigs...it's the things I listen to when I sit down and play tunes for people in the pub. I went through a phase of sort of doing the singer-song-writing scene...I think a period of about two years when I don't think I, I didn't buy an album that wasn't from somebody I knew personally or a band I'd seen playing in pub venue. I didn't buy any mainstream albums at all, it was all self-produced stuff. So I think I probably do get more inspired by live music.

Although some of the PopFest participants read magazines such as NME or Q (Colin, Daniel, Alan), others, such as Mike from PopFest, were particularly anti this knowledge-gathering route: 'I can't stand that kind of thing, I just like their music or not'.

Mike did, however, tend to trust the views of his friend Oliver, himself an avid NME reader, however, as well as that of certain radio DJs:

M: If it's someone like Mark Riley, I think he's brilliant, if he says you know this is a brilliant band and I recommend you go and buy it then I'll consider that.

Daniel explained that he tended to trust the views of journalists in the NME to guide him when making purchase decisions so he didn't waste his money, although he did disagree with them occasionally:

D: Yeah I read NME every week and Q every month and then Teletext whatever or look on the internet yep. That's kind of part of my Monday ritual and has been for years.

R: So you don't get any influences from you know people suggesting things.

D: No, mine are from reviews to be honest yeah. It is quite shallow but I mean I have been put off bands because of a bad review in a single publication but it just plays in your mind. I mean journalists where they're quite subjective in their opinions they're still almost duty bound to tell the truth about what an album actually is or what it sounds like so

R: I suppose it's about whether you respect that journalist's point of view isn't it really and their taste and so on perhaps

D: It is. I mean there's certain reviews that I've read that give something 1 out of 10, well it's that is just purely down to you don't like that music, it's not you haven't been constructive in the slightest with getting there. So yeah but I think that journalists and reviews are as good a way as any to actually do it.

Like Mike, getting his influences indirectly from the music magazines via a friend, Stephen from PopFest also mentioned the educative role of his friend:

S: Elliott is big into his, he'll religiously read NME and Q each month or week and uh you sort of pickup bits from him.

In his mid-forties, Alan from PopFest, highlighting his extensive knowledge of the popular music genre, was also heavily reliant on the music press for information:

R: So how do you actually choose which events to go to, which artists to go to?

A: Ahm well I sort of read quite a lot about music.

R: Oh do you.

A: Yeh yeh that's why I read the NME still every week.

R: Oh right.

A: Bit sad isn't it and I read monthly magazines and I go to other festivals so I sort of know what I want to see. So there's not many bands in even a small festival like this that I haven't heard of.

Looking back to his teenage years, as explored earlier, Alan tied the development of his interest in punk rock to his consumption of the music media:

R: So in terms of getting into punk rock then, can you remember what made you go to that punk gig?

A: It was really the NME. Yes so it was the influence of the music papers.

Radio seemed to be another source of information and influence in the shaping of musical taste, although only mentioned by two or three of the participants of each festival genre. PopFest was actually partnered by a BBC radio station, which Stephen and Mike from PopFest did mention as a favourite and had heavily advertised the festival in the weeks before. Mike identified a direct link between listening to a radio show and purchasing music, and also back to PopFest via the sponsorship link:

M: Every so often I'll listen to the [Mark Riley] show [on BBC6 Music], I'll then read through the playlist and then buy something from that.

Although radio as an influence was not particularly highlighted by FolkFest participants, Sophie did trace how it shaped her tastes over the years, setting up the influence as by chance rather than design:

S: I was very lucky that from listening to local radio a lot, which kind of shaped my pop music taste first and then I would hear country and western and then I was very lucky, Sunday evenings I had BBC Sussex and BBC Essex both did folk programmes in consecutive time slots so that sort of sparked my interest in more folk, as a I said, folkie-folk and uh...the more traditional side of folk music.

Barry, Jill and Geoff from OperaFest all mentioned radio as a source of knowledge too, each of them citing Radio 3 as a teaching tool which helped them to build familiarity, echoing the earlier mentioned role of reference books and magazines.

Only Clive amongst the OperaFest participants highlighted the internet as a source of background information to support and shape his opera appreciation, and even he tended to use it alongside library books to check facts. Similarly, only one FolkFest participant mentioned the internet: David occasionally drew on postings on the folk-based Mudcat Forum for information and ideas. Sites such as MySpace, Ticketmaster and music download sites were used by several of the PopFest attendees to research festival bands beforehand as well as for purchases, but even they were not particularly keen. Daniel from PopFest for example, saw discussion groups as restricting clarity and Alan appeared to be using his preference for vinyl over MP3 downloads as evidence of musical acumen:

A: Oh the quality of vinyl is far better than MP3. Far better. If you treat it properly and you have a decent system it's far better.

In summary, therefore, amongst the research participants, the OperaFest examples appeared to favour printed 'academic' style research methods, whilst more immediate and up-to-date weekly or monthly published magazines were the choice of PopFest people. There was mention of radio from one FolkFest participant, but others were more likely to pick up influences from live performances than from reading recommendations in the press. This consistent contrast in the types of media influences for each of the

genres could be suggested as sources of consecration and intensification of the tastes of the participants.

7.1.5. Conclusion

This examination of the current taste palettes of the participants highlights their awareness of differences between the genres. There was an identification by the participants of hierarchies both within genres and across genres, as well as a tendency for the participants to be entrenched in a taste for their own favoured genre or closely allied genres. OperaFest participants in particular were often unwilling to even consider the consumption of music outside the opera or classical genres. An examination of the participants' use of the media to support their taste for a genre indicated that the choice of media was likely to intensify this allegiance further.

7.2. Part 2: The role of the life-path in the shaping of music taste

This part of the chapter delves more deeply into issues of festival music taste by examining the participants' comments on the ways in which their tastes were formed. The roles of family and friends as well as of school and other institutions are explored.

7.2.1. The role of early family life in music taste development

Participants' family-related experiences of music as they were growing up will be reported in this section, with a view to the exploration of the possible links between home background and the development of the music palette.

For some of the participants, a direct link between their early experience of a particular type of music and their music palette at the time of the interview could be traced. Of the FolkFest participants, only James and Ellie could trace this influence back to early childhood. Folk music of a highly specific style – Scottish dance – was a key feature of James' early home life:

J: That's always been part of my life at home.

His Scottish father had been a key family instigator and James still performed as a member of a Scottish dance group occasionally. Ellie was another participant who claimed to have been immersed in folk music: 'my whole house was always filled with [folk music]', and also folk festivals from a very early age:

E: I've been going to [folk] festivals since well before I was born really. I know from my Mum telling me that I've been going to them since I was a baby and my Mum has always been to it so it was just a sort of natural progression that I'd enjoy it too. Yeh I've just always always gone to festivals.

Amongst the OperaFest participants, only Sylvia and Geoff's early home experiences of music mirrored their current interests in terms of genre, although Sylvia sounded less keen on classical music in her youth:

S: My late father sang in a choral society and I used to listen to him practising his tenor part. I think I thought it sounded very boring [laughs] and I suppose I used to have to go to his concerts. He played a lot of classical music on a 78 gramophone.

Geoff's mother also used to sing in choirs and Radio 3 was playing in the house so he commented that music 'was never a foreign land', although he commented that there was little chance to see live classical performances in the area where he lived in those days.

Madeline from PopFest also claimed to have been 'brought up with music', usually by listening to commercial pop on the radio and perhaps singing along with her mother as well as having been taken to see pop stars Madonna and Gloria Estefan by her parents when she was younger. Music also pervaded the early family life of Charlotte from PopFest. She explained that her parents had encouraged her and her brother to learn instruments from an early age, took them to concerts, and played the classical music-oriented Radio 3 as well as cds of jazz music at home.

C: My parents introduced both me and my brother to music and playing it. I mean neither of them actually I would say are musicians themselves, you know they don't play instruments particularly, but they both very much enjoy listening to music and watching it being performed and very regularly go to concerts.

Although present at PopFest, she was never greatly interested in pop music as such when she was younger, nor was she now, tending to seek out the less 'pop'-oriented acts at PopFest.

Holly from FolkFest commented that she felt slightly different from many of her folk-related friends, many of whom she thought had been going to folk festivals since they were babies. In contrast, she was slightly older, although still a child, when she took up her interest in folk music:

H: I didn't get into folk music until I was eight.

She pinpointed the timing specifically due to her interest being sparked by being encouraged by her father to listen to a new, still running, folk programme on BBC Radio 2, which started when she was that age. From that time on, her father played mainly folk music at home and took her regularly to folk festivals, although he encouraged her to make her own choices of music while she was there:

H: He didn't really tell me what aspects of folk to listen to or anything like that.

Holly remembered several other influences from her early childhood too, however. She had been exposed to classical music as a dancer and to 'big band' style music by her grandmother, as well as to local radio by her mother, although she had never really been interested in commercial pop music. Other FolkFest participants, such as Alice and Sophie, had also experienced folk music alongside other musical genres. Alice, whose mother was an alternative healer, was also taken to folk festivals in early childhood, although these festival visits were alongside a variety of visits to other styles of event,

including 'alternative' and jazz festivals, opera, ballet, art galleries and musicals, 'just to experience it'.

A: We've always gone to everything from agricultural shows with no music right through to the occasional hippy or folk festival. [_] I mean my parents have always let us listen to all sorts.

Although electric folk rock, as well as pop, was played in her childhood home, 'so folk music on that level was always around', Sophie explained that she had always preferred acoustic folk. She identified a key turning point which she did not attribute to her parents' influence:

S: I sort of had a revolutionary moment when I was about thirteen when suddenly there were several acoustic singer-songwriter-y type bands in the charts. And I sort of gaped open-mouthed and hadn't quite realized that you could have pop music with players on acoustic guitars. So that was sort of my teenage listening. And I think from there it just gravitated into listening to more folkie-folk stuff, people who are doing more traditional songs.

She was also disappointed that her parents' interest in folk music had not extended to encouraging her to play folk music whilst struggling with learning the violin during her childhood.

S: I just really, really wish someone had given me a book of traditional music at an appropriate age because I never in all that time [aged 5 to 17] tried to play folk music on the violin.

Also subject to other influences alongside the Scottish folk music mentioned earlier, James from FolkFest remembered his mother being very interested in classical music when he was young, and often taking him to classical concerts too.

Ben from Popfest's early home-based experience of music was also varied. His parents took him to see the classic rock band, The Eagles, in his childhood: 'when they were

trying to relate to me'. However, they also took him to a range of other musical performances, including opera, ballet and classical music. Similarly, Colin from PopFest's father was keen on jazz and classical music, a taste for which Colin had retained, alongside his own wide musical interests.

Amongst the FolkFest participants, several of them had had no direct exposure to folk music *per se*, or sometimes any music, via their parents when they were young. Meg, for example, claimed that 'music was sadly lacking at home' and that she had not been brought up with folk; David commented that 'music wasn't really a feature of the house'; Callum could not think of any recorded music his parents used to play: 'I can't recall them playing music at home', although he remembered his mother learning to play the piano during his childhood; whilst Matt reported that 'there was no major musical influence as I was growing up', including no folk music in his home:

R: So you didn't listen to folk particularly then as you were growing up it seems?

M: Not at all.

Similarly, three of the PopFest participants, Stephen, Alan and Mike, also did not regard their parents as a key influence on their current tastes:

R: What about your parents, did they...

S: Not really no. I never really remember any music at all as a youngster.

...

M: My parents never did anything cultural. Never.

...

A: We weren't a particularly, my parents weren't particularly artistic or anything.

Several of the OperaFest participants claimed that their early home life had little effect on their current taste palette. Barry from OperaFest had taught himself to appreciate music rather than gaining from his parents' influence, commenting that 'my father

certainly wasn't musical'. However, indirect support for other types of music seemed to have been present: his father was often given free tickets for the music hall from a contact, and sometimes took Barry when he was young. Barry also mentioned playing the piano accordion from around the age of eleven, indicating that some support for learning an instrument must have been available.

Similarly, Jill from OperaFest's home-based experience of classical music was also largely self-directed, although again indirect parental influences were discernible. Although Jill did say that her parents were not necessarily disinterested in classical music, the opportunities to hear any music apart from indigenous live music, such as calypso, whilst spending her early childhood living in the West Indies, meant that she was aged twelve before she heard recorded classical music at a friend's house for the first time

J: I can remember very clearly the first time I heard any classical music. It was Eine Kleine Nachtmusik. And I remember being transfixed standing behind somebody's door in a house we were staying in.

Once she had moved back to the UK, she used her late grandfather's record collection, available due to its retention by her parents, to explore classical music further.

The parents of both Clive and Lydia from OperaFest were more interested in the popular music of their time, rather than the opera and classical music, which Clive and Lydia defined as their tastes at the time of the interview. When asked about his early experiences of music in the home, Clive explained:

C: Ooh nothing at home. My parents weren't interested in the kind of music I'm interested in. This was something wholly separate from them. My parents were interested in the popular music of their teens and twenties. Em that was it. There was no gramophone as we used to call it in those days. They never consciously listened to music but if was there they'd hear it. But it wasn't something that was important to them.

Lydia's parents were also more interested in popular music and folk music, rather than the classical music and opera of OperaFest:

L: They all sang around the house a lot. But very much the popular music of the time and my father played the mandolin which was all folk songs and country music, not even folk songs, community songs. But certainly nothing highbrow or whatever at all.

Again, Roy from OperaFest also dismissed the value of his early home life in the formation of his current music palette. Although Roy's father was a professional dance band musician, out most evenings playing a range of instruments, Roy reported 'that didn't mean there was music in the house necessarily' and that his father had not encouraged Roy in his efforts to learn a musical instrument.

Several of the participants mentioned financial constraints on their parents' ability to introduce them to music or other cultural activities. Mike from PopFest explained: 'they didn't have much money, which is a lot of the reason' and Kath from FolkFest remembered: 'they wouldn't have been able to afford West End prices'. Anthony from PopFest also reckoned that 'there wasn't lots of spare money so going out to theatre and things like that just didn't happen' as did Alan from PopFest: 'we didn't have the money to do anything like that really'. Although none of the OperaFest participants specifically mentioned lack of money when they were growing up, Barry and Keith did mention the constraints of war time, with Barry highlighting his father's low-paid job, and Clive mentioned not having a gramophone at home. As well as the financial constraints mentioned by others, Stephen from PopFest referred to time constraints: his parents were kept busy transporting him and his brother to sporting activities, whilst Geoff spoke of the issues of lack of opportunities to see live music when he was young in his home town in the west country.

The role of other members of their family or extended family in the development of

their music palettes, sometimes replacing parental influence, was reported by four of the participants. Stephen from PopFest, for example, was influenced by his older brother in his early years, whilst Alan from PopFest highlighted the role of his elder sisters:

A: The elder sisters, 7 years and 10 years older than me so, the late sixties they were, I can still remember some of the music from the late sixties on the radio that they had...

Similarly, Ruth from PopFest's brothers, rather than her parents, were responsible for introducing her to live performances of rock bands such as The Who and Pink Floyd when she was young. Supplementing her mother's influence, Madeline also cited her uncle as a key influencer: he encouraged her to listen to pop artists such as The Jam and Led Zeppelin in her childhood.

Similarly, inter-generational dialogue was also identifiable from alternative perspectives, with several of the participants: Alan and Colin from PopFest; Roy and Gill from OperaFest; and Alan, David and Kath from FolkFest, all speaking of sharing their music taste with their children, whilst Ruth from PopFest spoke of being herself influenced by her children. Of these, both Alan and Colin had taken their children to PopFest, being keen to give their children the opportunity to experience live music. Colin explained: 'the kids were desperate to see a live group'. Roy from OperaFest's children were skilled musicians, like their grandfather, and he reported accompanying his children to music lessons and rehearsals as well as attending their concerts. Jill from OperaFest had made sure that her children learned to play a musical instrument in classical style: one daughter the piano, another the violin, whilst her son played the guitar. Kath had taken her children to FolkFest from an early age, and they were now, in their late teens, showing some interest in sharing music with her:

K: Now they're older you can play them something and they'll appreciate a piece of music

However, she explained that her children had not been then and were still not

enamoured of the event, nor of the folk scene in general:

K: In fact they don't like the Folk Festival. The actual scene, they don't appreciate at all, they don't like the scene, they don't like the folk scene in general.

Although Ruth from PopFest described how her daughter's music had inspired her interest, others, such as Jill from OperaFest, implied that their children's tastes had had little effect on their own: 'while my kids were living at home I tried to get into [pop music], not really get into it, but tolerate it on the radio and in the car'.

In summary, for only four of the participants, could a direct link be traced from early experiences of a particular type of music in the home to their having the music taste related to their festival attendance at the time of their interview. Another handful of participants experienced a mix of musical genres at home, whilst a couple more – Clive and Lydia of OperaFest felt that their parents' tastes were in direct opposition to their own present tastes. Ten of the thirty-three participants: Barry, Jill and Roy from OperaFest; Meg, Matt and Callum from FolkFest; and Alan, Mike, Ruth and Stephen from PopFest, claimed that they had very little musical stimulation from their parents during their early childhood, although Alan, Ruth and Stephen mentioned the role of siblings. Financial constraints were one restriction on parental influences on musical taste development, as highlighted by some of the participants, as were time and geographical constraints.

7.2.2. The role of school life in shaping music taste

This section will consider the role of educational experiences in the development of music taste. As background to this, it is worth highlighting the interviewees' qualification levels at the time of their interview (see Figure 1 and Appendix 9). Of the OperaFest participants, nine out of the eleven had a degree or postgraduate qualification, compared with seven of the FolkFest eleven, and six of the PopFest

eleven at these levels. It should be remembered that the younger participants would not have had chance to obtain their degree before the interview date: Alice and Holly from FolkFest were both students who may have gone on to obtain degrees. Although none of the PopFest participants were studying at the time, Ben did mention his desire for a university education and others may have obtained a degree later in life, as did Maureen from OperaFest. Amongst the older participants, different educational norms would have been in operation during their youth. Barry from OperaFest, whose profession as a cartographer would probably require a degree nowadays, rather than his GCSE-equivalent qualifications, commented that that it was never considered that he should go to university as 'life was very different in those days, of course, it was the end of the war'. Clive, in his early sixties, also observed the differences between educational access in his parents' youth and when he was university-age:

C: Obviously I'm much better educated than my parents. Most people are these days aren't they?

R: In terms of qualifications?

C: Oh yes in terms of qualifications. Both my parents left school at 14 and had no education beyond what was then, it would still be called elementary, wouldn't it in those days.

Moving on to consider the role of school experiences in the development of their music palettes, the interviewees varied in their views. Barry from OperaFest was fairly neutral on the role of school in his arts-related knowledge, reporting that although there was no music or literature at his technical school, his career in cartography drew on the knowledge he gained from the art class, which included heraldry and the history of architecture.

Others had more negative views of the role of school life in relation to music. Sylvia from OperaFest, a member of a local choir when the research was conducted, recounted

memories of one of her teachers whose opinion she believed stopped her from taking further chances of joining in with school musical activities.

S: I auditioned for a production of '*Noyes Fludd*' when I was nine and the music mistress said to me 'very nice dear but a little flat' and I didn't get a part and I believed for a long time after that that I couldn't sing.

Similarly, David from FolkFest, a keen folk sessions singer at the time of the interview, also highlighted negative memories of school:

D: Singing was not a terribly happy event for me. When I was eleven or so, my teacher at school publicly took the mickey out of me in front of the whole class, which you really don't need when you're eleven and that rather killed my singing career.

Although an accepted member of the choir at school, Kath reported that her problem was feeling different from her friends due to her singing skills, a situation which caused her to give up singing as she got older, which she regretted:

K: I was in the choir always at school and I really liked singing. But none of my friends liked singing and they couldn't sing. So they made me feel a bit, like it was, you know, um, not very cool.

Ellie from FolkFest's school-related musical experience was also problematic. She explained that her school saxophone had been stolen on the bus, which caused the school to cancel her lessons, and her dislike of the music teacher had meant that she rejected music as a GCSE subject.

Learning to play instruments was another education-related area, often supported by lessons or instrument loan from schools, which evoked negative memories in some, as mentioned above in relation to Ellie from FolkFest. Hannah from PopFest, who had played the flute from the age of eight, gave up ten years later when she failed to gain a place in the university orchestra. Daniel from PopFest claimed he had been 'forced' by his parents to learn the piano when he was younger, until he was allowed to give up

after two years. Maureen from OperaFest had tried to learn the violin at school but ‘was no good’ and regrets not having been encouraged to play a wind instrument, as she did now, when she was young. Madeline from PopFest also tried to learn the guitar at school ‘but I don’t think that lasted very long’, although she did try again more recently but gave up again.

Others had more positive memories of learning instruments, however. Callum from FolkFest had built on his earlier piano tuition by playing a variety of percussion instruments for folk bands. Clive from OperaFest learned to play the flute and the piano at school which taught him to be able to read music and gave him the practice of playing with an orchestra.

Clive had carried on with his piano playing right up until the time of the interview, although he gave up the flute when he left school. Several of the participants had learned to play the recorder at school, although it was regarded as low in the instrument hierarchy by some, such as Geoff from OperaFest:

G: I played a musical instrument at school, but only a recorder like everyone else.

Geoff also sang at school until his voice broke and he confirmed that his musical education at school had given him the skill to follow opera scores as he ‘was used to it all’.

Several participants mentioned particular teachers who had a positive influence on their music taste during their school life. Lydia from OperaFest, for example, was also introduced to the music of the composer Benjamin Britten by a teacher in her sixth form encouraging her to listen to a performance due to be broadcast on Radio 3 that evening. She commented that although she found it very difficult, she did pretend to be interested because she felt that she was ‘ready, really, to be interested’.

As well as learning to play musical instruments as mentioned above, Clive from

OperaFest also remembered being occasionally taken in a small group to classical concerts, opera, and the ballet, depending on the interests and enthusiasm of the teachers at his northern grammar school. One of the teachers also lent him a recording of the Britten opera *Peter Grimes* which he taped:

C: I expect I consciously listen to Benjamin Britten as closely as I do due to having seen *Peter Grimes* by accident solely through one of the teachers who was keen on *Peter Grimes* and I borrowed his recording and taped it. Em but I don't think I listen to very much Britten now, not because I dislike it, simply because I listened to it very well and er

Also, Callum from FolkFest had his interest in Morris dancing kindled at primary school. At the time of the interview he was a member of three Morris 'sides', including one founded by his primary school head teacher. In fact, he explained, it was his primary school head teacher who encouraged him to continue dancing after finishing primary school at the age of eleven. Despite her issues with violin tuition, Maureen from OperaFest had fond memories of being taught singing by one of her primary school teachers, as well as of her teacher's piano playing:

M: She used to play as we were going in to assembly. She has been a huge influence because I now know that all those tunes she played were Schumann and Schubert and Mozart and Beethoven. That music, when I hear tunes now I know they were the ones that she played when we walked into prayers. So from the age of five I heard classical music being played but I didn't know what classical music was. So she has been a huge influence and now when we have music here, she comes and plays the harpsichord.

In summary, it seems that the school-related experiences of the participants were as much negative as positive in their influences on their music taste development. In many of the examples cited above, it was individual teachers rather than the school environment, *per se*, which had particular effects.

7.2.3. The role of other institutions in shaping music taste

Apart from schools, other institutions also featured in the musical landscape of a few of the participants in their youth. The church was a venue for singing for some of the participants, although in FolkFest Matt's case, it was not a positive experience.

M: Both my parents were very very avid Christians so Mum was always playing lots of 'singing' music shall we say.

R: Oh right so did you go to church then? Did you sing at church?

M: Um, badly, yes, from what I can remember.

R: Some people get the musical influence then or singing from church, don't they? That's the first place they start singing. But you wouldn't say that was a particular influence?

M: No I can't sing for toffee.

Callum from FolkFest also had connections with the church, participating in a marching band when he was younger although he said he had now turned his back on it. Anthony from FolkFest, now a keen folk sessions singer, also had links with the church in his youth, having been a choir boy, although the church choir 'was more about earning some money and the fact that I could sing' than for religious reasons.

The Scouts and Guides movement was also linked to his singing abilities by Anthony from FolkFest. His mother had been a Guiders' assistant and Anthony was taken by her to Guide camps; and he was also in the Scouts himself: 'so I mean with the sort of campfire singing thing as well, it meant I knew all those favourites'.

Another musical institution which played a role in the development of one of the FolkFest participants was the National Youth Choir, of which Sophie was a member when she 'went through a big phase in choral music' in her younger days.

In summary, only three participants mentioned the role of the church in relation to their music taste, two of these in negative terms. The Scouts and Guides and National Youth

Choir evoked more positive memories but were only mentioned by one person each. These institutional environments did not therefore seem to have provided strong catalysts for musical taste development.

7.2.4. Music taste development in the youth years

Moving on from early family life and the role of the school or other institutional environments, this section will consider the participants' comments about the development of music taste in their mid to late teens.

Several of the participants reported the occurrence of a major shift in their music taste in their late teens. Alan from PopFest was particularly explicit on the changes at this age:

A: I started really getting into music when I was about fifteen or sixteen. I think it's when you're starting to be influenced by your own thinking rather than your parents thinking.

Alan also highlighted the opportunities from PopFest, it was the opportunities offered by leaving home to go to university in places which offered more chance to experience live music, which allowed him to build on the knowledge gained from reading about pop music in his mid teens in the New Musical Express:

A: I was lucky enough to go to university so I had the opportunity to expand my knowledge and experience of music. And then I was actually at university in Sheffield at a time when there was a very very interesting music scene in Sheffield.

Daniel from PopFest also identified going to university as the time he first started getting interested in music, although he linked the new interest more to meeting a wider range of people rather than the opportunities of the location:

D: I think I started getting into music when I was at college. [_] I went to college and then obviously got introduced to more people and your tastes widen. [_] My room had loads of posters up and I did actually have band t-shirts and things like that back in those days.

At the age of eighteen, Hannah reported that her new university friends, particularly a

housemate, Nisha, were a strong influence on her transfer from an interest in commercial chart-based pop music to the PopFest-related indie-style of pop music:

H: I just kinda listened to what Nisha listened to and other people as well in my house...so I didn't read music magazines then and I don't now.

Ben from PopFest also identified the teenage years as a turning point in his musical taste, pinpointing that time as when he started to like dance music:

B: That's what I got into when I was sixteen and sort of have been up to now really, my main musical influence anyway.

Similarly, Lucy from PopFest was also in her late teens when her (ex-) boyfriend Josh introduced her to a type of music with which she had not been familiar previously:

L: But I suppose when I was younger I just liked all the pop and that. And then up until through High School and maybe just before A levels I was into kind of like R&B and all that kind of, just like chart stuff. And then I started going out with Josh who's in [a band] and he kind of introduced me to this whole new, like all the bands and everything, which I've never ever been into before. And we used to go and watch the lads play every week and we'd go and see new bands all the time and then I got into, every month he'd make me like a cd with all kind of new songs that he was into, cos he was into all different kinds of stuff that you'd never heard of. So he kind of introduced me to this new music and all my friends got into it and our lives completely changed.

Matt from FolkFest was clear that nineteen was the age at which he was converted to folk music through helping a friend who danced with a Morris dancing side to carry some equipment to a folk festival. Having enjoyed the festival, he offered to help out on a t-shirt stall. After continuing to help out on both t-shirts and dance equipment transport, he was asked to dance with the Morris side who were short of dancers at one of the festivals. He reported:

M: That's how it all started.

He also began learning to play the fiddle at that age mainly to try and fit in with the folk scene, although he had not played the instrument for some time.

Another FolkFest participant, David's interest in folk was also kindled at around the age of nineteen, when he was taken by friends to see a 'brilliant performance' by folk-rock group Steeleye Span, which he identified as the beginning of his interest in folk:

D: It was completely new to me. The other people we'd gone with had a pretty fair idea of what they were expecting, but it was new to me.

The original aim had been to see the support band that evening, so David was shocked to find himself so impressed and subsequently attended further performances of the group and associated bands over the years, enjoying folk rock alongside his earlier rock music until folk eventually took precedence.

Another nineteen-year-old turning point, which led to further experimentation with the genre, was reported by Janice from OperaFest whose first experience of opera was at about this age due to being given tickets by the person she worked for at the time:

J: I suppose about nineteen would have been my first time of going to an opera.

Confirming the importance of the late teens as a musical threshold, Barry from OperaFest's first experience of opera was at the age of nineteen in Vienna whilst on leave during his National Service. Here he compares his and a friend's interest to that of his fellow soldiers:

B: Most of them really wanted to know where the nearest beer cellars and beer gardens and everything else were. But I did have a friend, Robert, and Robert and I would look at each other and we'd say 'well isn't there anything else?' and very sheepishly the Captain said 'we can get reasonable seats at the opera, but nobody [~]'. We didn't let him finish, Robert and I. I said 'that's us!' [_] And then I was hooked! So people blame the Army for

all sorts of things. Well they turned me into an 'operaholic'.

Lydia from OperaFest also pinpointed her college years in her late teens as the time she met her now husband, whose musical knowledge inspired her to develop her own musical taste:

L: one of the things that attracted me to him was that he was very keen on classical music and also opera. He was a great fan of Benjamin Britten, who really I didn't know anything about. My musical knowledge was much less than his, but I learnt a lot then through him saying 'oh listen to this, listen to this'. And I suppose really that's how it developed.

The changing fashions in pop music provided the opportunities for new tastes to be developed for one of the participants in particular. Kath from FolkFest had vivid memories of going to see a punk band:

K: I went to see this band and I remember standing in this little club. And I remember coming out of the club exhausted because everyone was jumping up and down and I was standing in the front and it was absolutely mental you know, I loved to be there. But when I came out my hair was covered in spit and that was disgusting. I felt that was disgusting but it didn't put me off though, I thought, I'm a punk, OK, I've got to live with it.

Although there were many examples of music taste changes for participants in their youth, there were also examples, although far fewer, of the opportunity being taken around the late teens to further develop and intensify existing tastes too. Jill from OperaFest, whose classical music interest was sparked around the age of twelve, took the chance to attend live classical concerts and opera for the first time when she moved away from home to attend university. Similarly, Geoff from OperaFest, whose interest in classical music and opera had been strong from a very early age, built on his knowledge of opera, gained at home from radio listening, when he was able to take the chance to experience live opera when he moved to London to go to university.

G: I went to London in '68 and started to go to the opera and everything else, concerts, everything from then on, so '68 through to when I came home. In the early days we were going to everything. But probably going to operas once a fortnight at least for thirty years. Well it was like being in a sweet shop.

In summary, it seems that the evidence points overwhelmingly to the mid to late teenage years as a period of change, and very occasionally of confirmation, in the development of music taste. The music taste reported by the participants as their new late teens interests were also usually the ones in which they were still interested, and which usually tied in closely to their choice of festival.

7.2.5. Music taste development during the adult years

Although the youth years appeared to be a time of music taste threshold for many of the participants, after which their tastes remained fairly constant, the adult years of their lives were identified by some participants as times of taste transformation or development too.

Maureen from OperaFest's music taste was extended, in her fifties, to include opera along with her taste for classical music, being inspired by the study of an Open University music course. She commented that she had always thought in the past that 'opera was a lot of warbley people singing music I didn't like'. However, having listened to a recording of the opera Julius Caesar as part of the course she felt that her eyes had been opened:

M: ...and all of a sudden I thought there are things that I haven't yet experienced, let's have a go. So I went to a couple of Verdi operas with a local group.

Maureen had also experimented musically by learning the recorder at the age of forty and buying a bassoon at the age of fifty, which she had recently taken up again in her early sixties.

Similarly, Meg from FolkFest reported a change in her musical habits when she started to listen to live folk music, in contrast to her usual classical preferences, at around the age of fifty, after taking up folk dance as a means of keeping fit. However, she did clarify that it was more the dance itself than the music which was the attraction. Folk dance and music was not completely new to her either, as she had been involved in teaching maypole dancing during her early twenties.

Again taking up a style of music which he had first experimented with in his late teens alongside other types, Anthony from FolkFest identified leaving the Forces at the age of thirty-one as the catalyst for his 'real epiphany for folk'. He attributed this transformation to the chance his change of career gave him to break out of the circle of people with whom he had been tied in via the army for the previous twelve years or so. However, further questioning revealed that he was not totally new to folk music, having made the occasional previous visits to folk clubs, including one he particularly remembered with a prospective girlfriend at the age of seventeen. In his teens, Anthony had been more interested in rock and punk than folk, partly he thought, due to peer pressure:

A: This is the kind of music you've got to like if you're going to be part of the group, you know. I can't imagine at sixteen, anybody would have been terribly impressed if I'd said 'I'm a folk singer'.

Older still, Roy from OperaFest, was in his mid-forties when he started going to the opera regularly because, he explained, it was an occasional night out. Like Anthony and Meg from FolkFest, however, Roy was also not completely new to this style of music, having been to see an occasional operatic performance back in his early teens. He further explained that having a young family had made attendance at live music events in his thirties difficult. Now in his sixties, his experience echoed that of Maureen from OperaFest, by being further inspired by the completion of a BA in Opera Studies.

Although only in her late twenties at the time of the interview, Hannah from PopFest appeared to be an example of a participant whose early twenties brought further intensification of the changed music taste of her late teens.

H: At the end of university I met Adam and he had a massive cd collection, indie music type stuff and so on, and he went through a phase of 'you haven't listened to these people, oh my god, I can't believe you haven't listened to these people' so he would then introduce me to different bands and he would read the NME web site or whatever and say 'oh these sound good, what do you think of these and so on'.

Colin from PopFest highlighted a recent reversion from dance to the live indie pop, characteristic of PopFest, which he had also enjoyed in his youth, partly motivated by his marital status.

C: I just started sort of going to gigs and started realising that I'd forgotten how good live music was rather than going to a rave or dance club and that, and I'm much more into live music again now rather than dance music. I mean now I'm married and getting older, it's more rather than going out on the town and having a night in pubs and that, it's nicer to go and see a gig and just have a few beers.

Also confirming that age is not necessarily an issue in attendance at music events, Colin from PopFest, explained:

C: I'm forty-two and I don't particularly feel forty-two. I think years ago people have said oh you shouldn't be listening and going to gigs at your age, well my mum still does say that. When I stop going to gigs is when I'm the oldest person there. If I enjoy it I enjoy it. There was one this year that I went to that was full of a lot of young people and by the end of the night there were a few people older than me so it's yeah.

However, a comment from Mike from PopFest suggested that he disagreed about the role of age and hinted at future changes in his own music consumption:

M: I suppose in a few years time I'll pay more attention towards classical music.

R: Oh do you think it goes with age then?

M: Yes, definitely.

Despite this forecast, Mike also declared that his music taste had stayed fairly constant, albeit varied and becoming more oriented to indie-pop, up until the time of the interview: 'there have been no major changes, more evolving, adding to stuff':

M: The first concert I ever went to was Man of War, a heavy metal band, second one was Metallica, third one was Beethoven.

R: Oh so have you stuck with the Beethoven as well?

M: Yes occasionally I listen to some of that stuff. I moved a lot towards indie, indie-pop, folksy as I've got older.

David from FolkFest built on his late teens' conversion to folk music by attending his first folk festival at around the age of thirty. It was a work colleague who encouraged him, he explained:

D: And he said well we're having a bit of a festival one evening in June, you know a few dance sides coming along, why don't you come and have a look, see what you think. So I wasn't doing anything that night and I knew he was good company so I thought OK we'll go along. And I enjoyed the music, the dancing, the general ambience of it all. So that started me off going to festivals.

Both Sylvia and Christine from OperaFest attended their first live opera in their thirties, with Sylvia in particular seeing it as a major event in her life. Previous to this, Sylvia's music taste had focused mainly on classical and choral music, although she also listened to other types of music too.

S: We decided on one occasion to go to an amateur production of an opera. And it was you know a sort of Damascus Road thing. We said right well that was really good, let's make a note of when the next touring opera's coming and let's go to a professional opera.

And we went to the Marriage of Figaro. And the rest is history.

For Christine from OperaFest too, the event seemed to be less momentous but still marked the beginning of twenty years or so of opera-going:

C: We just decided we'd never been and seen a live opera and plumped for one. We saw Madame Butterfly. I think, having talked about it since, I think your first opera either makes it or breaks it. We picked a good opera and it was a good performance and that was it.

In contrast to the various developments in music taste mentioned above, Clive from OperaFest, in his early sixties at the time of the interview, highlighted the lack of major change in his own music taste over the years:

C: A friend of mine teases me that my musical tastes set when I was twenty-four and haven't changed since. I mean he's to a large extent right. Mine has tended to ossify, which is rather sad [-] but for whatever reason I only make sort of incremental additions really and tend to like things that are close to what I already like. So I quite like Verdi so obviously Donizetti is something I can cope with.

Stephen from PopFest also indicated that although his tastes had not actually changed, during his late twenties he had become less worried about his friends' reactions to his purchasing decisions:

S: Well it's just not [~] I'm very much into bands and it's probably not what the others'd [~] like [~] maybe [~] so that is [~] I dunno

R: Oh so when you buy an album then, would you, would you think oh would the others like it then?

S: Well that's what I mean [~] I'm quite comfortable in the fact that I'm not fussed any more. Yeah.

R: Oh I see, but you used to be then?

S: Yeah. Probably, yeah. A few years ago, you'd go out and buy something, you'd have

to keep it quiet, cos you'd get a little bit of ribbing.

In summary, therefore, although several of the participants highlighted what they saw as major changes to their taste in music in later life, when examined more closely, these so-called new tastes could be linked back to music styles first experienced earlier in their lives, especially during their mid to late teens. Even those who had not experienced a genre before, such as several of the opera goers, the step had perhaps been a small one in musical terms, usually from classical music to opera, rather than a giant leap to something completely different.

7.2.6. Conclusion

In conclusion, this report of the research interviewees' comments on the role of their life landscape in the formation of their music taste has highlighted the key importance of the youth years: the mid-teens to mid-twenties. Whilst early family life and early school life were important to some, for both positive and negative reasons, far more of the participants claimed that these early years were not important at all in terms of musical influences. The later years, whilst including what some regarded as key music-related events were more likely to have been a time of consolidation of the teenage changes or slight modifications to taste rather than of major taste transformations. Links to the music of the festivals at which they were recruited were clearly discernible for most of the participants, despite the start of their interest in that genre of music being sometimes many years earlier.

Chapter 8: Examining the data using orders of discourse

8. Introduction

In the previous three chapters, the empirical data of this research project was set out, enabling an overview to be gained of the data content in relation to the key topics of this research. This chapter will examine more closely, using a critical discourse analysis approach (CDA) (Fairclough, 1995; 2003) the social and cultural themes highlighted by the discursive and non-discursive aspects of this empirical data. CDA will delve deeper into the participants' discourse, highlighting how they talked about issues, with the addition of more context where appropriate, and analysing what this means for the theoretical concerns of this thesis.

Three strong themes relating to the festival experience emerged from the content analysis of the empirical data described in the previous three chapters. These key themes comprised:

- How the participants' festival-related music taste developed. This emerged from their talk about the role of family and friends, home and school; and other institutions.
- Cultural competence, including the levels of participants' festival-related knowledge and their evaluations of festivals and their contents. This is discernible in the participants' talk on their music palettes as well as on how they chose the festival and the particular festival performances they attended. Talk relating to the cultural goods the participants use to support and develop their competence is also relevant here.
- The role of social interactions. This emerged from their talk on meeting new people, attending with friends and family, and the role of dress and personal image.

Further analysis of the empirical data, using the critical discourse analysis approach described in Chapter 3, will be reported in this chapter. Three orders of discourse, matching the above themes, have been identified, and within each of these, three competing and complementary discourses will be highlighted. The styles which the participants established through the employment of these discourses will also be identified. The three orders of discourse are:

- the ‘initiations’ order of discourse, comprising the ‘early initiation’, ‘youth initiation’ and ‘maturity initiation’ discourses, which draw on how participants establish styles using talk relating to specific contexts, times, places and social actors in the development of their festival-related music tastes;
- the ‘cognoscenti’ order of discourse, comprising the ‘festivals expertise/ignorance’, the ‘performance expertise/ignorance’, and the ‘support materials’ discourses, highlighting how participants used talk relating to cultural competence to establish styles;
- the ‘connection/detachment’ order of discourse, including the ‘persistent connection’ discourse, the ‘temporary connection’ discourse, and the ‘detachment’ discourse, highlighting how participants used talk relating to social interaction to establish styles.

8.1. Key events in music taste development: the ‘initiations’ order of discourse

8.1.1. Introduction

An investigation into how participants’ discourse portrayed their initiation into their taste for the festival’s musical content is an important facet of establishing the role of cultural capital in the music festival experience. Analysis of the talk relating to these initiations demonstrates that musical taste was triggered at various stages of an

individual's life path. In line with Fairclough's guidance on social events talk, the initiations discourse was assessed for its featuring of time and location, and the role of other social actors. The relationship between the initiation and the festival experience will also be highlighted.

This order of discourse occurred within the talk of participants from across the three festivals. The order of discourse is grouped into three separate participant age-related discourses which fell out of the coding pattern. The three discourses within the initiation order of discourse are:

- 'early initiation' discourse relates to the pre-teenage years;
- 'youth initiation' discourse relates to events during the teenaged to early twenties years;
- 'maturity initiation' refers to the mid-twenties onwards.

8.1.2. 'Early initiation' discourse

Various events, including taking up a musical instrument, attendance at a previously unknown type of performance, or hearing a type of music for the first time provided the contexts for early initiation discourse. Events during these years tended to be framed within a family or school context.

The family context was the focus of two of the FolkFest participants' initiation discourse relating to their early years. Confirming her style as a singer, an activity which she reported taking part in at FolkFest, Kath's account of an early singing experience emphasized the strong social actor role of her parents and the timing and location:

K: When I was about seven, my parents put me in for a competition, we used to go to [the seaside] on our family holiday. They always used to, they were quite forceful, and they

used to push me into competitions and things. But I didn't mind being pu- I needed to be pushed because I didn't have the confidence to go up myself. So I wanted someone to push me into it. But I sang Edelweiss in this competition and I won the competition and I became Queen of the Pier and I was so proud [laughs].

Holly from FolkFest was very clear on her initiation into folk music, her talk including the identification of the year, her age and key social actors from her close family:

H: I didn't get into folk music until I was eight. Before that I'd danced and things so I'd been in the theatre listening to classical music when I was dancing and like listening to my Grandma's music and things like that, like Glen Miller and things. And then my Dad, 'cause Mike Harding was on the radio before I was born, and Dad used to listen to him then, and then it came back on the radio in 1998 or something like that and my Dad was like oooh Mike Harding, I might give this a listen and he got into folk music and then he got me into folk music and then we went to festivals together.

The texturing of Holly's talk through highlighting of the role of the radio as well as the reference to the music stars Glen Miller and Mike Harding gave added richness and authority to the talk. Her highlighting of the Mike Harding radio programme being a revival of an earlier programme allowed her to link herself to the history of radio folk programming and style herself as a folk fan who was initiated at an early age.

Also stressing his style as an opera initiate since an early age, Barry from OperaFest, in his seventies at the time of the interview, reminisced about his uncle taking him to see his first opera³. Barry pinpointed his age, the location and the title of the first opera performance he attended:

³ Barry also reported that his first opera visit was at the age of nineteen, perhaps distinguishing between an amateur performance as this one at eleven, and the professional opera he saw at nineteen.

B: If I really want to say the first opera I ever went to, I only have the vaguest recollection of it because there was an anvil in it, and it was in fact Verdi's 'Il Trovatore' and it was a local company in the open air arena in Brockwell Park. This is in the summer of 1944 at which I reached the grand age of eleven.

R: Your uncle took you then did he?

B: Well I took him because I had to push him up there. Unfortunately he was disabled, he was paralysed from the waist down. So I thought ooh well we'll go back the next week. But we didn't. A flying bomb destroyed the lot.

Barry's talk intensified the sense of the event being a significant initiation by its portrayal of the historical context through its texturing with war-related elements. These elements included mention of the destruction of the open-air park by a world war bomb and highlighting the year. The reference to his wheelchair-bound young uncle also evoked images of war-disabled veterans.

Maureen from OperaFest identified school as the context for her initiation discourse, pinpointing the timing and location of when she first became aware of classical music. Her discourse evoked historical event through the phrase 'in those days', and identified a specific social actor in the form of her teacher as key:

M: My very first teacher in 1948 used to play as we went in to prayers in the morning, which we did in those days of course, schoolchildren did. She would play the piano and I now I can hum lots and lots of those tunes and she used to teach us singing when I was aged five.

Charlotte and Hannah from PopFest both remembered learning to play an instrument from an early age, stressing school as the context for this initiation, and allowing them to style themselves as musically knowledgeable:

C: I started playing the piano at about the age of five or six and then started the flute and obviously when you're involved in music at school you get involved in choirs and things. I learnt the piano em what's called the Suzuki method and I think that has influenced my

appreciation of music quite a lot.

...

H: I started learning instruments early. I think I played the recorder in the Infants and started playing the flute when I was eight.

Initiation discourse did not only relate to assimilating new forms of music, but also related to specific events which could be classed as missed initiations. Sylvia from OperaFest, highlighting her style as uninitiated at an early age, had disagreeable memories of the comments made by another social actor, a music teacher, which she implied led to her missing out on the opportunities enjoyed by her sister-in-law, so changing the course of her life:

S: I went to a school where there was a very strong music department but because I was quite shy and lacking in confidence I auditioned for a production of Noyes Fludd when I was nine and the music mistress said to me 'very nice dear but a little flat' and I didn't get a part and I believed for a long time after that that I couldn't sing. My sister-in-law who went to the same school, six years younger than me, really took all the opportunities there were you know and travelled with the school orchestra, sang in the school choir and that sort of thing.

Like Sylvia, Daniel from PopFest's talk relating to the music lessons he had when he was young could be classed as a missed initiation. Confirming the discourse as missed initiation, he avoided styling himself as a pianist by being vague about timings and gradings:

D: I had piano lessons which at the time I tried to do everything I could to get out of and that was more my parents that wanted me to do piano lessons.

R: How long did you do that for?

D: Pwhh a couple of years I think it was. I only got to about Grade 2 or 3 or something like that.

Despite these potential initiations not resulting in a transformation of music taste at this stage, events reported later in the chapter illustrate that it was possible that these missed initiations had nevertheless provided a root for a later initiation.

As in Maureen from OperaFest's talk reported above, texturing of these two missed initiation examples by mention of the specific musical instruments, as well as of the pedagogical elements, gave added authenticity to the discourse.

8.1.3. 'Youth initiation' discourse

The youth years, defined here as the early teens to the early twenties, featured many rich examples of initiation as well as new configurations of context, location and time.

Educational locations were still cited as contexts, although these tended to be portrayed as sites of social rather than educational interaction. Social actors in the form of friends became common as sources of influence, although teachers and family members still played a role, and the participants also highlighted their own agency in some examples.

A series of step-changes in music taste occurring in her youth years featuring friends as social actors were distinguishable in Hannah from PopFest's talk when documenting her initiation into the indie genre emphasised by PopFest. Her talk showed a pinpointing of her age at each re-orientation:

H: I guess I was into the charts until I was about fifteen and then I decided I was into things like Guns 'n' Roses and Nirvana and stuff like that. And then for a while, I had a friend who was into mainstream chart music so at that time, I dunno, seventeen, eighteen, I went back charty and not really into music, and then when I went back to university I hung around with people who were into music a bit more and I got back into non-charty music if you see what I mean. [_] At university, basically a friend of mine, my housemate, had a massive indie music collection so I listened to more stuff that I hadn't heard of before.

The strong role of social actors, in the form of unnamed friends, influencing the role of

oscillation of her taste from pop to rock, back to pop, then on to the final indie initiation, is clear within this section of talk. This new styling, as a fan of indie-pop music could be seen as a replacement for her earlier flautist style: Hannah gave up playing the flute around the age of eighteen. Her dismissal of a liking for chart music as not counting as being into music and her highlighting of the extent of her friend's indie collection implied that indie music was of a higher calibre than chart music.

David from FolkFest was particularly explicit about his initiation into folk music being strongly influenced by friends at the age of eighteen during his one year at university. His discourse showed detailed memory of the place, the social actors and the non-discursive elements:

D: Some friends went to an event, they weren't part of the university but people living nearby, a particular band that they wanted to see, so yeah if they went to anything we'd come along with them. And the main band [on that night] was Steeleye Span who were relatively unheard of at that time. We happened to be sat with our mugs on the stage, we were that close to them and yeh it was a brilliant performance. [_] And that was really I guess what started me with an interest in folk music.

His mention of mugs, a key symbol of the traditional folk scene and his talk of being close to the stage and one of the first to see Steeleye Span live, were used in this extract to indicate folk music knowledge, a link to the cognescent order of discourse (see later in this chapter), and also therefore style himself as a *bona fide* folk festival attendee.

Discourse relating to an initiation into new tastes for a specific band also featured within talk referring to the youth years. The role of her boyfriend as a social actor is clear within Madeline from PopFest's talk about her conversion to being a fan of indie band The Blueskins around the age of twenty:

M: I mean like The Blueskins, I think they're a really really good band. I love them and I hadn't even heard of them until I met my boyfriend and that was oh about three and a half

years ago I met him and heard that album and was just oh my god that's amazing but I would never have listened to that album if I hadn't met him and saw it in his cd case.

Although mentioning her boyfriend as an enabling social actor within this initiation discourse, Madeline did also give herself a strong agency role, implying that it was her reaction to the availability of the cd that caused the initiation. Rather than using this talk to stress her initiation into the indie genre, Madeline was here, through her referencing of a little-known indie band, portraying her style as one step on: an avant-garde indie fan.

Jill from OperaFest explained that her opera initiation featured friends as well as the context of university:

R: So did you start going to live performances then [at age 12] as well?

J: Not really. There wasn't the opportunity not until I got into Oxford.

R: So how old were you when first started listening to opera?

J: Well I said 16 but it's probably closer to 18 come to think of it.

R: And that was from originally from records then rather than

J: No, it wasn't. I didn't like the human voice on record. It was going to The Magic Flute. Some friends of mine were putting on The Magic Flute and I went to that and, fantastic, and, um, it was the music.

Characterising 'the university' as an institutional context of his initiation into an interest in music, Daniel from PopFest's discourse also stressed his own agency in teaching himself to play the guitar:

D: It was all when I was at college which was when I first started getting into music which was about 92 I think. [_] Going to university opened up a lot more because you used to have free gigs that you could go to at the Student Union and things like that. So that introduced me to a lot of bands and I went to university during it was all the kind of Britpop years which is a pretty good time for English music. [_] When I went to university

I'd started playing guitar you know and kind of taught myself how to play guitar since then.

Daniel's references to non-discursive elements such as the Student Union and the free gigs which were on offer there clearly evoked the university context and student style, whilst his references to the 'Britpop' years framed it historically, both adding authority to the description and a sense of the phase being of initiation status in his life. As mentioned earlier, his guitar playing could perhaps stem from his missed early initiation as a piano player, although at this life stage guitar playing fitted with his styling as a pop fan.

Following on from her earlier mention of friendship-related initiation into opera, Jill's first experience of opera in an Italian location occurred in her late teens⁴ while on a family holiday. She styled herself as the confident lead instigator of a family visit to the opera, demonstrating her enthusiasm for opera by this age:

J: I realized I sold my father on Italian opera because we used to take long holidays, uh they were school teachers, and we, when I was about fifteen or sixteen we were camping in Verona and I said 'there's an opera on, let's go to the opera' and we went to the opera in Verona and my father was utterly gob-smacked and got sort of zonked with opera.

Setting this experience firmly within an Italian context, with the reference to low-cost camping contrasting with the lavishness of an Italian opera house gives added texture and authority to this talk. Instead of the more usual role of parent as enabler, however, Jill reported a role reversal: a daughter enabling a parent to undergo an initiation.

⁴ Although she refers to being 15 or 16 in this extract, comparing it to the earlier extract she was probably around 18 and already at Oxford University.

Highlighting school as the source of her initiation into opera during her late teens, and pinpointing a specific teacher as the trigger, OperaFest's Lydia described her first encounter with opera, styling herself as a pupil. This initiation was also tied to family life through the location and mention of her brother. Her discourse featured a wealth of detail, despite the event having occurred some fifty years previously:

L: I was very fortunate that my French teacher in the sixth form, em, I can specifically remember his saying 'you ought to listen to', um, I don't know whether Radio 3 had started then, must have been. And he said 'Rape of Lucretia's going to be on by Benjamin Britten, you must listen to this' and I remember sitting in the sitting room which we didn't use very often on a little radio that my brother had made for me, listening to this, and actually finding it very difficult but pretending I thought it was really interesting.

Like Barry's war reference texturing reported earlier, Lydia's talk also evoked the historical and social context through her references to the seldom used sitting room and the hand-made radio.

Including a high degree of agency when styling her initiation as self-driven traditionalist, Sophie from FolkFest pinpointed the beginning of her conversion to traditional folk music in her early teens:

S: I sort of had a revolutionary moment when I was about thirteen when suddenly there were several acoustic singer-songwriter-y type bands in the charts and I sort of gaped open-mouthed and hadn't quite realized that you could have pop music with players on acoustic guitars. Bands like 10,000 Maniacs, Fairground Attraction, Kirsty McColl. So that was sort of my teenage listening and I think from there it gravitated into listening to more folk, sort of folkie-folk stuff, people who are doing more traditional songs.

Use of the dramatic phrase 'revolutionary moment' within the discourse confirms the high impact of this moment on Sophie, whilst mention of social actors in the form of specific bands adds authority to the initiation.

The examples above of initiation discourse relating to the youth years are amongst the fullest and most explicit from the dataset. However there were numerous other examples of talk which showed features of this discourse, some of which were highlighted within Chapter 7 where participants mentioned events which influenced their music taste development during their youth years.

8.1.4. ‘Maturity initiation’ discourse

There were several examples of initiation discourse embedded within talk relating to the maturity years of OperaFest and FolkFest participants. Like the early and youth discourse examples, maturity initiation discourse also featured timing, location and social actors.

Sylvia from OperaFest reported listening to a range of music, including classical music, as she was growing up and in her youth years and her talk had not shown signs of initiations during her youth years, although she had a missed initiation during an audition at school in her early years, as reported in a previous section. However, this talk, relating to her late twenties, showed the characteristics of initiation discourse, containing references to specific locations and dates. Her use of the pronoun ‘we’ divides agency between herself and her husband and there is no clear external trigger mentioned:

S: And then we decided on one occasion to come into [city] and go to an amateur production of an opera. It was I Lombardi by Verdi and it was put on in the cathedral by the emm I think it's the [Town] Opera Players or something. And it was you know another sort of Damascus Road thing. We said right well that was really good, let's make a note of when the next touring opera's coming and let's go to a professional opera. And we went to the Marriage of Figaro. And the rest is history. So I'm talking, I was probably nearly thirty when I went to the Marriage of Figaro.

Sylvia's biblical reference to the road to Damascus gave added gravitas to the sense of

occasion displayed in her talk; her use of Italian nomenclature for the Verdi opera; as well as her assumption that she need not name the composer of *The Marriage of Figaro*, perhaps due to its supposed familiarity, added further texture and authority to the extract. This initiation thus allowed her to style herself as an opera initiate.

Although Maureen from OperaFest had been interested in classical music for some time, as highlighted in her early initiation reported in a previous section, her discourse displayed evidence of initiation into musical instrument playing and then opera when she described the series of step-changes which she experienced in her later years. She also anchored the context of the talk to meeting her partner and to birthdays, both themselves often regarded as initiations, in order to define timings. Maureen emphasised herself as a strong agent in the initiations, although she also referred to her husband as an inspiration for one change:

M: It wasn't until I did my music course that we really got into opera at all. I just sang with choirs until I met my husband when I was thirty-eight and then I went down to live in [county] in 1982, um, he played recorders and I thought well that's a good idea. So I found somebody who said yes she taught adults, so I started to learn the recorder, aged forty. And I thought, well this is good, but I still really want a bassoon and would like to learn, so for my fiftieth birthday I bought my bassoon. But just after I was fifty, we came back up here and I'd saved up my money in the last few years working as a midwife to be able to do the Open University Music Course. [_] It was brilliant.

R: And you've taken up the bassoon again after putting it away?

M: Yes. I started lessons about three months ago because I met [a teacher]. I talk to every bassoonist I meet 'cause I'm besotted by it, a 'bassoonatic' apparently they're called, and he comes here and gives me a lesson nearly every week, so I'm racing ahead and having a wonderful time.

Reference to social actors in the form of music teachers as well as an Open University course gives her initiation discourse a flavour of being enabled by pedagogy. Her final

comment, relating to 'racing ahead' looked forward to further initiations in the future and echoed the feel of the rapid succession of initiations described, confirming her styling as being still open to new experiences and as a multi-instrument playing musician.

Also building on his previous initiation conversion to folk music during his youth years, David from FolkFest defined his initiation into folk festivals, at around the age of thirty, as another significant event. His talk may again be examined for the clear evidence shown of timings, locality and social actors:

D: I suppose you could call it a landmark event if you were doing a Powerpoint presentation about it, it was a guy I was working with. I'd met him a couple of times. He was also bearded and liked a good beer, you know fairly typical of most of the people I associate with these days, and he danced with the local Morris side and he just mentioned it a couple of times in passing and he was a nice guy, very good line in jokes and could keep a very straight face while he was telling them, so we got on very well. And he said, well we're having a bit of a festival one evening in June, you know, a few dance sides coming along, why don't you come along and have a look, see what you think. So I wasn't doing anything that night and I knew he was good company so I thought OK we'd go along. And this was either the second or the third Wimborne Festival and we're on the 27th this year and em yeah I thoroughly enjoyed it. I enjoyed the music, I enjoyed the dancing, the general ambience of it all. So that started me off going to festivals.

Several references to non-discursive elements, such as beards, beer, Morris sides, and a specific, long-running festival added folk music-related texture to the talk. The relaxed flavour of a storytelling style as well as reference to joke-telling were also in keeping with the folk music feel; all adding to his styling as a *bona fide* folk festival attendee.

Also from FolkFest, Sophie further developed her interest in folk music when her boyfriend encouraged her to join a Morris side in her late twenties:

S: Basically I wasn't into the dancing, which was mainly because I didn't know about what was there, until I met my boyfriend, and he sort of pushed me towards, why don't you join a side and the clog side was my local side from where I lived and he was already in the Molly side, so I was hanging around with them and now I'm close enough to get to the practices, I join in them as well.

Examples of initiation discourse referring to the maturity years were not in evidence within the talk of the PopFest participants, although it should be remembered that six of the eleven interviewees from this festival were under the age of thirty.

8.1.5. Summing up of the initiation order of discourse

As can be seen above, the initiation order of discourse was evident in participants' talk relating to all of the different life-stages: early, youth and maturity. Missed initiations also balanced the initiation talk, often appearing to set up a need which was demonstrated as being fulfilled by an initiation later in life. At each stage, location, timing, context and social actors could be identified as key elements in the discourse. Non-discursive elements also added texture and authority throughout.

Youth initiations tended to be the most prevalent within the dataset, although initiations to opera were also identifiable in later life. References to composers or bands or to opera titles in their vernacular gave participants the opportunity to style themselves as initiated and knowledgeable music lovers: for example Madeline's reference to indie band, The Blueskins, Jill's and Sylvia's references to specific operas or to highly regarded opera locations, and Sophie's assured distinction between Morris dancers and Molly dancers.

In each of the achieved styles, a direct link with attendance at their festival of choice could be discerned. Initiations occurring during the early and youth years were generally the start of an affiliation to a genre of music which had lasted until the

interview date and could be tied in with the musical genre of the festival at which they were recruited. Initiations in the maturity years were less common and tended to be initiations into closely aligned genres, such as extending a taste for classical music into a taste for opera; or initiations into new ways of experiencing a familiar type of music, such as extending a taste for folk music into a taste for folk festivals or folk dance.

8.2. Cultural competence: the ‘cognoscenti’ order of discourse

8.2.1. Introduction

Embedded within interview content and coded as relating to the building of cultural knowledge, cultural consumption and festival activities, talk concerning various forms of festival-related expertise was discernible. An order of discourse encompassing festivals-related cultural competence, here labelled the ‘cognoscenti’ order of discourse, is therefore proposed. This order of discourse encompasses three inter-related discourses associated with cultural taste, each of which may be further linked to the festival experience:

- the ‘festival expertise/ignorance’ discourse relates to the participants’ levels of knowledge and experience of festivals as an event;
- the ‘performance expertise/ignorance’ discourse relates to the participants’ levels of knowledge and experience of the performers or performances on offer at the festival;
- the ‘support materials’ discourse identifies talk relating to the interviewees’ non-discursive resources: music collections, music systems and reference materials relating to their festival of choice.

The use of these discourses will also be shown to enable the participants to establish a style relating to their level of cultural competence.

8.2.2. The ‘festival expertise/ignorance’ discourse

There were several examples of discourse which worked to display the extent of an interviewee’s knowledge and experience of festivals and thus enable each participant to style themselves as a *bona fide* festival attendee. Conversely, several participants admitted ignorance of festivals: the festivals cited by the participant for the ignorance discourse were usually not the ones at which the interviewee was recruited however and the discourse served to indicate that the ‘ignorance’ festival was not in line with their usual style.

Matt from FolkFest used talk on his role as a steward and also as a festival director in his home town to display his level of folk festival expertise and style himself as a steward and a festival director and thus part of the folk cognoscenti:

R: So you’ve been doing the stewarding for thirteen years?

M: Yeah. At [FolkFest].

R: And do you do stewarding at the other festivals too?

M: Yeah. The only one that I don’t steward at is called Beautiful Days, that’s one I pay for.

...

M: I have no problem running the venue at [FolkFest]. I’m Chairman of [City] Festival so I have much more control [there] over what actually goes on and hopefully the experience that I’ve got in putting on a festival that people really want to go to and end up booking again and again and again for.

Comparisons of festivals were made by some participants to show expertise. Ben, who attended PopFest as a catering assistant, rather than as a paying visitor, contrasted PopFest to other festivals, citing size, length of time established and type of music on offer as points of comparison. This talk enabled him to construct himself as discerning by aligning himself with ‘quality’ festivals as well as to style himself as a dance music

fan:

B: It wasn't the best festival I'd been to this year and throughout the years, not the most memorable one, but I would say I'd go again, but I wouldn't hold it in high regard I don't think. If there was another festival on at the same time, I'd probably choose that one over it.

R: So what other festivals have you preferred then?

B: Ahh, The Big Chill, Glade, ehm, I would definitely prefer those two because they were the bigger scale festivals I went to. Yeah just bigger, more, I suppose, more quality festivals really. They're both of them more established than [PopFest]. [_] They've got the big names there and they've also got the dance music that I'll be interested in, sort of hip-hop bands.

Matt from FolkFest also demonstrated his festival expertise and confirmed his folk cognoscente style by his ability to compare FolkFest with other festivals, as well as being able to evaluate the music as traditional English:

M: [FolkFest] doesn't really change that much for the kinds of bands it has playing. You know what you're going to get when you go to [FolkFest], whereas if you go to some other festivals, you'll see a couple of headlining acts you recognize, and then a lot of the other stuff you've vaguely heard of, or never heard of. But FolkFest is quite, quite solid in who they book. Crowd pullers, good, traditional English folk music. You know what you're going to get.

Mike from PopFest's discourse allowed him to display his cultural competence and style himself as a festival expert through his showing off his experience of other festivals as well as PopFest through comparison:

M: It's quite nice and small and handy-sized but it's good music and the thing I like a lot about festivals and it's similar with most festivals, you see a few bands you wanted to and then there's just loads of other bands and stuff.

Also comparing festivals, Lydia contrasted the possibilities of seeing unusual operas at

OperaFest to the offerings of another similar festival in her home town; whilst Janice compared OperaFest to other possible alternatives:

L: I think that's one of the criticisms we have of the [Town] Festival, that it's pretty ordinary stuff, well that sounds awful, um it's very er familiar stuff really. I think we still feel that we want to hear stuff that's new, to keep extending what we know [as we do at OperaFest].

...

J: I looked at a number of [alternative] possibilities and couldn't come up with anything yet that would have what [OperaFest] has by way of the breadth of the programme.

As in Mike and Ben's talk, Lydia's and Janice's comments allowed them both to style themselves as culturally competent within the opera festival field: Lydia by implying that she was knowledgeable enough to be already familiar with the ordinary offerings of her local festival, whilst still keen to be challenged at OperaFest; and Janice by being able to judge the programme's content.

Two other PopFest participants also demonstrated a high level of familiarity with festivals featuring similar genres to PopFest, with Colin using his experience of attending Glastonbury several times in the 1980s as evidence that he was qualified to provide a detailed comparison of Glastonbury and PopFest. The detail he featured gave authority to his views, as well as to his opinion that PopFest was superior to Glastonbury in music terms as well as due to its smaller size. Colin was also positioning himself as having been a veteran of Glastonbury's early years in comparison to the more recent attendees and asserting that he was a true music fan by being attracted by the music of PopFest rather than by being able to say he had recently attended Glastonbury just for the kudos. Thus he was using his cultural knowledge of Glastonbury as well as of past PopFest attendances to justify his attendance at that year's PopFest:

C: Compared to years I've been to Glastonbury when I was younger. I mean that was back in the eighties, and it was horrible really. The weather didn't help but the loos were bad, the food wasn't very good and stuff like that. [_] I'm not a great fan of festivals but I mean this one [PopFest] was different compared to, I mean I wouldn't particularly want to go to Glastonbury, 'cause I think you lose out on the atmosphere with the music and that, but with [PopFest], with the crowds, you could get close up and it was good sound. [_] I think it was much more for the music whereas Glastonbury, because it's such a big event, it's, I think Glastonbury's more, 'oh I went to Glastonbury this year', it's more of a talking point rather than the music and because it's so, the main stage, unless you get really near the front, you're so far back you're just losing out on so much I think. Whereas with [PopFest] it's such a small sort of area although it doesn't get crowded it's all close and that's nice.

Lack of festival knowledge was also part of this discourse, although examples within the dataset were rare. Admissions of ignorance occurred amidst talk relating to declarations about music outside the scope of the festival they had attended, thus justifying their non-attendance at these. Meg from FolkFest, for example, displayed a lack of knowledge of pop festivals, her comment on 'prejudice' confirming that she was making a judgment without much knowledge to base it on:

M: I've never been to a pop festival and I know nothing about them really and I don't think I'd ever go to Glastonbury. I mean partly I wouldn't like that I think because it's such a big event. But that might be just prejudice I think.

Mike from PopFest, when mentioning a folk festival he had attended recently admitted knowing very little about folk music, although he was able to name-drop a top folk performer:

M: In fact Eliza Carthy was there. Probably my entire knowledge of that music.

The festival expertise/ignorance discourse was therefore doing several things: enabling the participant to style themselves as being aligned with a particular type of festival or

music genre, as well as enabling them to signal their expertise in relation to music and festivals.

8.2.3. The ‘performer expertise/ignorance’ discourse

Also within the cognoscenti order of discourse, the performer expertise/ignorance discourse encompasses participants’ discourse on the content of festivals and allowed the speakers to display their levels of familiarity with the music on offer at the festival they attended.

These ranged from Matt’s simple assertion that he was familiar with all the bands at FolkFest, confirming his styling as a folk music expert, to OperaFest Barry demonstrating his cultural competence via a detailed account of the history of one of the operas, as well as its links to other composers:

M: I’ve seen all the bands before.

...

B: It was Romeo and Juliet by Georg Benda, dated from 1776. Well I thought no, that’s quite early, so I wasn’t expecting great opera, because it isn’t done. I found it on the whole extremely pleasing and in a way if you just half-closed your eyes it was pre-Mozart. Without a doubt. I could see where, and apparently, Mozart did see this opera in Mannheim, when Benda was there and he had a high regard for it. Benda was of Czech origin. I think his real name was Jirí, but he took the German name of Georg.

...

B: I have kept a list of the operas I have been to, so these are all originals, not repeats or anything, and Romeo and Juliet was number 525.

Barry also used a confident assertion, given as a third person statement rather than his own opinion, about the nature of opera to style himself as interested in a challenging form of the arts:

B: In fact of course opera is the most complex of all the performing arts.

Using his experience of several attendances at the South by South West music industry convention in America, Alan from PopFest also demonstrated his performer knowledge by comparing various pop music artists' profiles in the UK with their American profile. This talk allowed him to demonstrate his status of having been part of a small audience to see top UK pop stars, as well as indicating that his knowledge of the music business was extensive enough to be able to use it to gain access to areas of the convention reserved for music industry insiders:

A: Bands that have made it big in the UK will use it as a way to try and break into America. So we saw Amy Winehouse in a tent with about 120 people in and we saw the Arctic Monkeys last year in a venue of about three or four hundred people.

R: You're not connected with the music industry?

A: I'm not, I'm not, no, no. Even though I pretend I am when I go over there 'cause it gets you into lots of places.

Recounting this enactment of being able to play out the music industry 'norm' enabled by his cultural competence thus allowed Alan to style himself as a pop music industry insider and therefore align his interests with the content of PopFest.

Several of the OperaFest interviewees presented their views as facts rather than opinions and often expanded at length on the reasons they had evaluated a festival performance in the way they had. Jill's confident and detailed assessment of one of the operas implies a high level of performer expertise through her naming of the singer and the conductor and her ability to compare the staging with other stagings she implied she had seen:

J: Really, really excellent because it wasn't an outrageously strange staging but it told the story very clearly but it was highly innovative in some ways. It had a set of very young singers, some of whom I'd never heard of before, I'd only heard of [~] actually I'm trying to

remember a single name [~] oh Anna Leese I've heard of, she sang the Countess, she's a New Zealand soprano, who I would have gone to listen to anyway. She's excellent. But anything that Ian Page is involved with is very good.

As with the OperaFest participants there were examples of high levels of knowledge of festival performer amongst the FolkFest participants, again allowing the speakers to style themselves as culturally competent in their genre. In this extract, for example, Meg, styling herself as a folk dancer, showed extensive and detailed knowledge of three of the dance styles on offer at FolkFest, while Sophie, demonstrating a folk expert style, spoke knowledgeably about one of the bands:

M: Well certainly I liked the dancing, because that's what I went for, and probably more specifically I liked the particular callers. Well there were three I'd name if I'm allowed to name them. There's Hilary Herbert for Playford Style and Geoff Cubitt for American Squares and Rhodri Davies for American Contrasts. And I'd danced to all those callers before so I knew they were good. [_] There are two types of dancing I like, English Folk Dancing and American Dancing and that's longways sets, or American Squares, and that's em four couples, eight people in a square. Sometimes there's a mix but sometimes not, like Geoff Cubitt specialized on that occasion in American Squares. And then with the earlier dancing, Playford's the earlier dancing, 1600s I think, and it also, English folk dancing can be more modern than that but it still relates to that elegant period.

...

S: It was a real highlight seeing Tim Van Eyken's band because he's been around as an artist for ten years or so and he's only done two proper solo albums, one when he was sort of eighteen, and one last year. So that was really good and that album's had so much praise from the folk media and I think it's wonderful, and I just missed seeing the band at previous festivals so it's really nice to finally see them and he was great. They were the headline for the Saturday night concert.

Ben and Charlotte both from PopFest also aimed to display their performer expertise within their evaluations of the festival, Ben through evaluation of the standard of the

performance and Charlotte's through a detailed assessment of the performer's musical context. Ben was also here using his evaluation to style himself as an expert on dance music and thus to position himself as an outsider to PopFest. Comparing his own knowledge on the particular act described to the assumed lower level of knowledge of the other members of the audience also enabled Ben to style himself as a dance/DJ fan:

R: What about the music as well, what did you think of the line-up?

B: Eh hh. Not bad, pretty average, quite mainstream. There was a guy called DJ Yoda that I liked, though he didn't play the best set cos he was in the main inside arena, which was a bit like a school hall. But it didn't have the best vibe to it. I mean, y'know, obvious [~] I don't think people had really heard of him there at all, you know, it wasn't the best atmosphere. People dancing, but not that much of a dancing atmosphere going on.

...

C: Yeah I think particularly the examples that I've talked about already, you know the three siblings, em Seasick Steve, 'cause you know he was a great man, a kind of history behind sort of blues performance, etcetera, em and the Dixieland Band because you know I find it interesting hearing what different performers do with tunes and melodies and kind of set pieces which you know are part of the traditional repertoire for musicians. But everyone performs them differently so I find that interesting as well.

R: Seasick Steve was billed as kind of almost quite simple music wasn't he, you know in terms of his instrument and so on?

C: Yeah simple music but I just think that actually sometimes simplicity is more interesting and the way it's performed is interesting.

Roy from OperaFest also used performer expertise discourse to position himself as culturally competent within the festival genre, stressing the number of years he had been attending opera:

R: the main operas that [OperaFest] do are not operas that are performed at the ENO. They specifically look for unusual things to put on so you know you're going to see

something different. [_] If you've been going to opera for a number of years you've seen it all. It's really nice to see something different.

Although several of the OperaFest participants confirmed that rarely performed operas were the key attraction of the festival, performer expertise discourse demonstrated that both Roy and Clive had also made festival choices that were still within their usual taste ranges:

Res: But it's still opera along the lines of things that you've seen before in terms of style of opera and things like that?

Roy: Uh mostly, yes. It wouldn't be a place where you'd expect to see something which was strikingly new. But on the other hand there are events which are [~]a bit different [~]. But we don't necessarily go for that.

...

Res: And did you experience any type of music or arts or anything that you hadn't experienced before when you were there this time?

C: Do you mean different styles? No. Obviously music I hadn't heard before, yes. But er, nothing new I'm afraid. I've got to the stage where I'm very unadventurous.

These statements underline their style as culturally competent within a familiar genre but they also both styled themselves as conservative in sticking to familiar cultural areas.

By using performer expertise discourse, both Alice and Anthony from FolkFest also both positioned themselves as confining their festival performance choices to the familiar, despite Anthony's assertion that other possibilities were on offer:

Al: I think most of the things I went to was kind of my taste in music anyway. I probably wouldn't go to the slower concerts 'cause I like things that have a bit of get up and go in them.

...

An: It all tends to be about the same kind of music but there are huge subdivisions within and you might be tempted to go and have a look at something else.

R: Did you experience anything you hadn't experienced before?

An: No. Not this time. We just didn't bother.

Demonstrating detailed knowledge of folk dancing in order to style himself as a dancer, Callum from FolkFest highlighted the presence of the French dancing teams who danced alongside the English Morris dancers, as well as asserting that he had seen most styles of dance before:

C: The French teams were there and there were other Morris teams that I got to see that I probably hadn't seen before, different style of dancing. [_] I see it all through the summer so there's probably not a lot there that I haven't seen before.

Both Anthony and Callum were again using performer expertise discourse to highlight their cultural competence: without a baseline of knowledge, they would not have been able to distinguish differences at the micro level.

Although performer ignorance was admitted by three of the PopFest participants of one of the bands, these admissions were tempered with assessments which showed expertise by comparing them to other bands. Lucy, Hannah and Colin's comments also indicate a styling as being innovative in their willingness to experiment:

L: There was a band called Koop I think they were called and I went to watch them and they'd got quite a big band, they'd got more instruments than usual and it was quite slow and quite nice to watch. It wasn't like the lads that we usually watch and the bands that we're into but it was quite nice music really.

...

H: On the Sunday, um, oh Koop, they were quite, um, I suppose a bit jazzy and yeah I enjoyed them. They wouldn't be the kind of thing that I would normally listen to.

...

C: I really liked them because they were just totally different to anything else I saw or have seen.

Kath from FolkFest used her admission of ignorance of artists' names to style herself positively, in her own eyes, as a non-folkie, although she did evaluate their technical ability confidently, in line with her previous styling as an accomplished singer:

K: We saw three different artists, I can't remember any of their names, but there were three women who sang together, can't remember who they were, I never go away with the names. But they sang really good harmonies and I enjoyed that.

Although PopFest participants were usually confident in reporting the names of the bands they had seen at the festival (although sometimes with reference to the programme), most did not expand in any detail on their musical provenance or evaluate their performances in any depth. When evaluating the previous year's performance of one of his favourite bands, for example, Stephen from PopFest did not take the chance to reflect on any specific elements of their performance or history, so although he defined himself as an Elbow fan, he did not back this up with any explicit knowledge about the band:

S: I just remember the year before, one of my favourite bands is Elbow, and we were quite close and had a good view and it was probably the best, sort of performance I've ever seen I think, that one there.

R: Because you were close you mean?

S: Yeah and the performance itself as well.

Lydia from OperaFest showed a lower level of confidence in her expertise than those of Barry and Jill reported earlier. She presented the review as her own opinion, rather than in the third person as fact, and then also aligned that opinion with her husband's. She then went on to wonder about finding out more about Bluebeard, and to admitting ignorance over the publication date:

L: I thought they were very good productions, particularly the, well we saw the Donizetti and the Offenbach. We thought those were both very good productions. [_] I thought [Bluebeard] was very funny and amazing that someone wrote those sorts of things and had that sort of view back in the 1890s or whenever it was written, I'm not quite sure when. It's made me want to find out actually who the contemporaries were when he wrote it and to put it alongside Gilbert and Sullivan in [~] in English operetta.

Similarly, Sylvia and Barry from OperaFest both stated that they had little knowledge of one composer's work. All three, Lydia, Sylvia and Barry repaired their admissions of ignorance by adding in comments to show expertise in other areas of opera as compensation, thus styling themselves as *cognoscenti* despite their protestations of ignorance:

S: I'm not very familiar with Donizetti. And it was also interesting because we've seen *Gloriana* a couple of times. Benjamin Britten. That's the same theme. It was a meaty opera and there was some lovely singing and an impressive storyline.

...

B: The one I bought in [OperaTown] was 'Torelli'. Quite new to me. Nothing to do with the festival. I bought it in the Festival Shop. Guiseppe Torelli. Well I know Corelli and various men, but no, I didn't know that. And so I bought it on spec and got home and thoroughly enjoyed it.

Others were slightly less convincing in their ignorance talk, such as Clive and Geoff from OperaFest, who both used the discourse in a way which in effect styled themselves as knowledgeable: Clive through showing that he had listened to jazz for forty years, and Geoff through his analysis of the essence of *Lieder*:

C: I listen to jazz occasionally but I'm wholly ignorant about it, although I've been listening to it off and on for about forty years.

...

G: I have a blank spot with anything to do with *Lieder*. But that's me. I've never been a great fan of poetry and I've always felt you need to know poetry properly to truly appreciate it, the art of *Lieder*.

An admission of ignorance by Keith from OperaFest was also used to display knowledge and style himself as an opera cognoscente. After aligning his own ignorance of a band with the supposed ignorance of the rest of the audience, he took the chance to throw in extra, related information which demonstrated knowledge, as did Janice from OperaFest:

K: I didn't know what the Pavel Haas Quartet was, umm, I didn't actually know what the Café Band was, although it was lead by David Greer who's the leader of Opera North Orchestra which I go to. [_] But I think that, it's the case with most people, because most people won't know, won't have heard of the Pavel Haas Quartet.

...

J: The same afternoon we went to the em concert which was the, I'm going to get it wrong now, was it the English Chamber Orchestra or the English [~] National Orchestra. I'm going to get it wrong whichever way it was and that was very good, that was held in the church sort of up in where they had the market. The acoustics actually were very good.

Like Keith, Hannah from PopFest aligned her own ignorance with that of others through use of the pronoun 'we', then dressed their joint ignorance as an advantage:

H: There weren't so many bands that we knew of, and so there weren't conflicting interests really.

Examination of performer knowledge/ignorance discourse showed therefore that participants from all three festivals were mostly extremely knowledgeable about the cultural content of their chosen festival, styling themselves as members of the cognoscenti by ensuring the names of performers were used whenever possible. Even when ignorance was expressed, it was usually repaired by a demonstration of related

knowledge, although two participants, Kath from FolkFest and Ben from PopFest, used the discourse to purposely style themselves as outsiders to the festival at which they were recruited.

8.2.4. The ‘support materials’ discourse

Three types of non-discursive materials which supported their festival interests were referred to by the participants and may be placed under the heading of ‘support materials’. These support materials included their music collections, the equipment used to play the music, and reference sources relating to their music of choice. Support materials discourse was used by several participants to demonstrate cultural competence as well as style themselves as in alignment with the festival they attended.

Using a range of non-discursive elements in her talk, Ruth from PopFest highlighted the extent, both in quantity and time span covered, of her music collection as well as implying that a high importance was given to music in her household through description of the sound systems, one of which was assembled in a separate room:

Ru: I like going in, there's a good record shop in [town], and I go in and have a mooch around there sometimes.

Res: Ah, an independent shop?

Ru: Yes it is, yes. A nice guy. I suppose because I've been, I've lived here for four years and I've been going in there all the time, and he says, 'oh you know, I've heard something that you might like' a couple of times 'cause you know, he knows the kind of people that I go in to buy. I had this thing at one stage that I wanted to get all my vinyl onto cd and everything but I've never actually achieved it cos, too much.

Res: Oh so you've still got your vinyl collection then?

Ru: Yes, oh yes. I've been listening to Status Quo and their latest album is only on vinyl, so I was surprised about that. But I think it's cos people eh, cds were portrayed as completely un-damageable weren't they, you could drill holes through them and it

wouldn't mark them and things but that's rubbish. And there is something about the nostalgia of vinyl I suppose.

Res: So have you actually bought a new deck?

Ru: No, well we bought a new system just before we moved here.

Res: Ah about four years ago?

Ru: Yes. We have bought some new speakers, some bigger speakers since we've moved here. And we've got a different music system set up in a different room. And we've bought a digital radio and we've all bought ipods so that's sort of in the last couple of years we've done that, so we have upgraded things.

Reference to the tailored suggestions of the social actor in the independent record store, implied that she was a regular customer with tastes which were known and sanctioned, confirming her styling as an indie fan. Her failed attempts to replicate her vinyl collection, enabled her to stress its high volume; whilst her reference to Status Quo's 'latest album' confirmed that, despite her collection being vast, she still kept in touch with new releases, enabling Ruth to also style herself as a veteran record collector but also a contemporary record collector.

Alan from PopFest also highlighted the extent of his music collection as well as indicating its value to him:

A: I don't know why I buy a lot of music, I sort of have a lot of cds and vinyl, I've got a huge amount of vinyl.

R: Do you download at all?

A: Yeah, I started downloading and I quite like it for the, emm, it's handy and you can have it with you but I still like the, there's something about vinyl, I still like a record sleeve to have a look at.

R: Yeah. Do you find the quality is good enough for your tastes?

A: Em what for MP3s?

R: No I meant just vinyl you know if you're quite a connoisseur of music do you

A: Oh the quality of vinyl is far better than MP3. Far better. If you treat it properly and you have a decent system it's far better. That's the downside of MP3s, the quality is quite poor. So it's fine if you wanna listen to it on headphones or in a car but if you put it through a decent system it is limited, it's limited. It's not as warm. Ehhh you can hear the record crackling but you won't get the range on a cd that you will on a record.

Like Ruth, signalling his commitment to music, and confirming his styling as a pop music expert, his talk also included reference to a specific music room in his house:

R: Oh, so you have a specific music room, do you? Is that to listen to or to, you said you didn't play an instrument didn't you?

A: Well it's got drums, it's got my son's drums in at the moment. So that's what it's being used for. But it also gives me somewhere away that I can keep my record collection. 'Cause that has its own cupboard.

R: Oh so do you keep everything in order? Do you catalogue them at all?

A: I keep them in alphabetical order. [_] I like to be able to lay my hand on something, so. I'm a lot better than I was [laughs].

Although both demonstrating that they kept up with contemporary developments by highlighting their inclusion of digital music in their range of access formats, both Ruth and Alan appeared to be extolling the superiority of vinyl, a musical format recently in favour with the cognoscenti, whilst Ruth was keen to align herself with an independent record store. The ideology of the superiority of both vinyl and independent record stores to their counterparts: compact discs and music chain stores, was being referred to in these discursive extracts. By recognition of the ideology, Ruth and Alan were thus styling themselves as pop music cognoscente and therefore qualified to attend PopFest.

More talk on non-discursive entities which may be included in the discourse of 'materials possession' relating to cultural consumption was Alan's exaltation of his two

antique jukeboxes as pieces of art:

R: And if money were no object, in terms of art, do you have any feel for what you might choose to buy, or to have, or to commission even?

A: Art. I would emm, I would I would buy a ughhh a Centenary Wurlitzer, if that could be classed as art, the Wurlitzer 2000. The classic. It's the classic turning book visible display Wurlitzer. I'd like that cos it's absolutely beautiful.

R: Yeh can you get hold of them still?

A: Emm, yeh well, they cost about, you can probably get them for about £15,000 really, which is quite a lot really [laughs] for a jukebox

R: So the two you've got already, a '57 and a '63 did you say, so you regard them more as pieces of art then really?

A: Oh when you turn the light you know when it's dark and you turn them on, they're beautiful, they glow and they em the chrome glows. They're beautiful, yeh

In a continuation of the PopFest participant trend, Mike's talk also included reference to the high quality of his music listening system, styling himself as a discerning music consumer and deriding others who had not invested as he had, through use of the adjectives 'rubbish' and 'tinny', and demonstration of his sensitivity to sound quality by reference to bass boost. Again, like Alan and Ruth, Mike was referring to an ideology, this time to the perceived superiority of separate item music systems:

M: I quite like my music on a reasonably good hi-fi. I just get wound up by people who buy and listen to it on rubbish tinny little systems. There's no depth, the bass is awful and it sounds tinny and you have the bass boost and things and it just makes the bass overwhelming.

R: What kind of system have you got then?

M: Eh, separate stuff that I've bought. I read for a few months, What Hi-Fi and eh. If I crushed my car I'd be moderately disappointed and think oh that's inconvenient but if my hi-fi died [laughs] I'd be really upset by that.

Of the FolkFest and OperaFest participants, only Matt from FolkFest's talk included materials discourse relating to sound systems. Matt's sound system, which he reported using for DJ-ing was located in his cellar and the emphasis, though the use of powerful adjectives and earthquake imagery, was on the scale, rather than the quality, of the sound as a selling point:

M: Two turn tables, mixer. Massive amp. Huge speakers. When it's all turned on downstairs, the floor shakes, the plant moves across the table, and, yeah, it's great.

Matt was not using his sound system to style himself as a folk music fan, but to draw on his teenage heavy rock tastes, which he affirmed he still had a taste for alongside folk music.

M: Well uh, they see me and uh, most people think I was a rocker. Into his heavy metal. And I am. I love my rock music. I did the whole Goth and rocker thing for years and years. I didn't want to conform to what society 'told' me to do.

However Matt saw parallels between a taste for heavy metal and the Goth style on display at FolkFest, seeing both folk and Goth as being statements of 'alternative' style, and therefore asserting that his heavy metal sound system still allowed him to style himself as a folk festival aficionado:

R: One thing I did notice [at FolkFest] there seemed to be quite a kind of 'Goth' theme going on

M: Certainly quite a few of the Goths that were there have been going to Chippenham for a very, very long time and it's just kinda the whole maybe rebel, rocker, Goth image thing that's developed outside of the festival. [_] How do I put this without sounding really bad. Those people who, how shall I say it, those people who, who ARE misfits, or are considered to be misfits by normal society, you will often find at folk festivals. But it's very, very rare, very rare, that you'll see any of your classic sort of 'townie' people at folk festivals.

As mentioned in a previous section, Jill from OperaFest indicated adherence to an ideology of rejecting recordings of operatic voices; whilst Lydia and Barry also styling themselves as *bona fide* opera lovers, rejected the idea of listening to opera on cd or dvd. This styling also justified their attendance at a festival featuring live opera.

R: So have you listened to the same sort of thing since you've got back at all? I mean has it kind of you know

L: No. No..

R: inspired you to listen to

L: No.

R: buy the CD or something?

L: No we don't listen to a lot of opera actually at home

R: You prefer the live version then, d'you?

L: I think so yes. We've got dvds and things that people have given to us, but um..

R: Oh so you wouldn't really buy them?

L: No no. We mainly listen to orchestral music if we put music on. Sometimes we put it on for having a meal.

...

B: Well strangely enough at home, I have very few complete operas, and I'll tell you why because an opera will take what, three hours, and one just doesn't sit there for three hours and listen to it. I have a number of excerpts of operas.

...

J: I don't like the human voice on record.

Several of the FolkFest interviewees made reference in their talk to the extent of their cd collections, but they also used the limited or non-purchase of albums to emphasize their discernment in musical taste or to style themselves as familiar with the folk scene, as did Ellie, Callum and Sophie:

E: Most of the people I saw were people I'd seen before and probably have albums of. As I say the only people I haven't seen before were the Witches of Elswick and I did like them, but not enough to buy a cd I don't think.

...

C: I've not bought a [band] cd because I work with him and can say 'give me your latest cd'.

...

S: I think I went through a period of about two years when I don't think I, I didn't buy an album that wasn't from somebody I knew personally, or a band I'd seen playing in a pub venue. I didn't buy any mainstream albums at all, it was all self-produced stuff.

This attempt to signal discernment in materials possession was also evident in Mike from PopFest's talk relating to a particular music acquisition decision. Here, his reference to an early purchase of The Editors' debut album worked to emphasize his good judgment as well as his presence at a highly-regarded festival, through his definition of the year he bought it as well as the location:

M: I'm quite picky about music. It's typical of a festival that there will be one or two bands that will impress enough that I'll then go and buy music. 'cause I saw The Editors about three years ago at Reading and I thought they were fantastic so I immediately went out and bought their album and, yes, it's really good.

Maureen from OperaFest also used her talk on materials possession to highlight her extensive music collection by using the term 'houseful' to emphasise quantity. She signalled her knowledge of the early music genre, and emphasised her high levels of activity by stressing her lack of time to listen to music at home. Her use of the term 'this year' implied that she had made materials purchases in the past and her use of the pronoun 'we' diluted responsibility for new purchases:

R: Have you followed up on any of the new people you said you'd heard at the festival?

M: I don't think we did this year. We would have perhaps bought the Robin Blaze, but we've got such a lot of Early Music that we don't yet get time to listen to. We have got a houseful of cds, some of which we've bought at festivals or at concerts and some of them haven't been listened to yet.

Within the same materials support discourse, Geoff from OperaFest emphasized his expertise by highlighting the extent of his music collection through his use of adjectives denoting scale. He then went on to demonstrate the depth of his collection by focusing down on one section of his materials possession when describing his choice of in-car listening:

R: Have you followed up on anything you heard at the festival at all, you know, buying the recording, or

G: Em. I've got them all [sigh]. I have a vast record collection. Vast opera collection. I tell you I've got more than two thousand operas on cd.

...

G: I've got my cd player in my car. At the moment I've got six records of various piano music. I just pluck things from my collection and stick them in the carousel.

As well as using the possession of recorded music and sound systems to display cultural competence, the cognoscenti order of discourse is also exemplified during talk by the participants on how they use support materials to build up their knowledge about music and festivals. Methods mentioned included printed materials, the internet, and the radio.

Amongst the OperaFest participants, talk referred to respected reference books such as Kobbe and Grove and magazines such as Opera and Music. Both Lydia and Maureen from OperaFest highlighted their possession of a large variety of support materials to signal their knowledge, as well as their style as 'insiders':

L: We get a lot of stuff about music. Because once you're on the circuit, it tends to arrive.

...

M: We did at one point get the Music magazine for about six months, but we get so many magazines coming, because [my husband] gets the Organists Association, and we get the Early Music magazine. And I've just rejoined the Double Reed Society so I will actually be getting the Double Reed magazine. But we don't read the ones that you can buy in the newsagent like the Music magazine or Gramophone or whatever. We tried but we get so much stuff coming through the house.

Describing how she integrated the use of research into her music selections and also taking the chance to indicate the magnitude of her research material collection,

Christine from OperaFest also used support materials discourse:

C: I'm quite a reader, so I read. I like to know the background of the composers and things so sometimes that will influence me. I will want to find out about a particular person and follow that through and see how that person's life will affect music or what builds on that, so the background to a composer may affect what I listen to.

R: Where do you find the information from?

C: Well I buy quite a lot of books of one sort or another, a houseful of books.

Both Roy and Clive of OperaFest styled themselves as knowledgeable enough to be able to evaluate information sources, with Roy elevating Grove to biblical status, drawing on the ideology of the Bible as an authoritative source, and Clive emphasizing that the internet was only fit to be used as a back-up for 'old-fashioned', and by implication, more reliable methods:

R: We have a copy of Grove Opera Guide. So that's the bible.

...

C: I use the internet quite a lot. It's such an undifferentiated hodgepodge of material isn't it? If I'm wanting to find out anything in particular I'd go to a library and do it the old-fashioned way. Occasionally, well if I know the basics I'll look at the internet for particular things. But I wouldn't start off there. I might do a trawl on the internet and then go to a

library and then back to the internet. You know just using both resources equally.

Despite most of the OperaFest participants, including Clive and Roy, mentioning at least one reference source, several of them, again including Clive and Roy, also dismissed the value of preparatory research when attending an opera; whilst Barry also regarded his knowledge to be sufficient. Rather than being portrayed as a failing, however, this trait appeared to contribute another angle to the support materials discourse, as the participants were indicating that their knowledge was at such a level that research was not actually necessary.

Res: So do you tend to prepare before you go, you know the plot and

C: No I tend to em, where they have sur-titles, I read the sur-titles . Maybe, well obviously, if it's an opera I've seen several times, I'll know the plot anyway. I probably know The Marriage of Figaro backwards, which is a very sad thing, because I know it too well.

...

Ro: I have the opinion that if you have to read up about something before you go, it's obviously not very good, because it's not, you shouldn't have to do an exam on what you're going to see.

...

B: I don't have [Opera magazine] now because it's got expensive and all the rest of it, and I think I'm pretty well knowledgeable now of things. But in the early days I used to read that. Very much so. That was the background.

In a similar perspective on the support materials discourse, several of the PopFest interviewees derided the use of music magazines for research. Even those who regularly read the New Musical Express (NME), for example, such as Daniel and Alan, apologized for their habit, implying that they should not need that type of support, or in Alan's case perhaps that he was really too old, at late forties, to be reading music

magazines. However, the fact that he mentioned reading the NME adds to the evidence for Alan's styling as a pop music expert:

D: My [influences] are mainly from reviews to be honest, yeah, and it is quite shallow

...

A: I read the NME, still, every week. Bit sad isn't it.

Providing link to the connection/detachment order of discourse through her emphasis on the role of a social actor, Hannah from PopFest demonstrated in her talk that word of mouth was actually more important to building her knowledge than printed materials:

H: I just kind of listened to what Nisha listened to and other people as well in my house.

So I didn't read music magazines then and I don't now.

Radio attracted praise amongst PopFest participants as a materials source, however, with Mike using his evaluation of the various BBC music-playing stations to demonstrate his cultural competence and using a reference to a social actor, in this case the disc jockey Mark Riley, to signal his alignment with the cognoscenti:

M: Radio 1 I think is terrible, they're 'oh this is the best band ever, it's brilliant, it's exploding'. No band can be that good and if they've only released their first single then. If there's a bit of moderation and if it's someone like Mark Riley, I think he's brilliant, if he says this is a brilliant band and I recommend you to go and buy it then I'll consider that, but other people they just try and generate some artificial thing behind the band and try and get everyone on the bandwagon and it's more sensationalizing the music than actually listening to good music.

Similarly, Jill and Geoff from OperaFest both cited Radio 3, again suggestive of ideology, as a means of building cultural competence. Geoff's texturing of his discourse by historical reference added authenticity to the discourse:

R: And did you build up your knowledge as well by, did you read magazines or books or...

J: I just had Radio 3 on all the time.

...

G: Going back to Radio 3, in those days, that's the great difference between then and now with that programme, or the Third Programme as it was I suppose then, you used to have a lot more relays than you ever did than you ever do now. You know practically everything from Covent Garden, every production, was broadcast, and you had all the foreign ones as well. So you had plenty of options. So I used to basically go into [town] and get the score from the library and you know you'd be doing that every week. So it was not a desert in any shape or form. But you had to do it yourself.

Of the FolkFest participants, only Matt mentioned using printed materials to support the development of his knowledge of folk music. Rather than the formal reference materials of the OperaFest participants, however, Matt's printed support materials were more informal and collected at festivals and live events:

M: You build up, you start to recognize names as you collect all the programmes and fliers and what have you.

The support materials discourse works, therefore, by allowing the participants to use talk on materials possession to signal their level of cultural competence in the music genre of the festival they attended, thus styling themselves as part of the cognoscenti of that festival genre. This links support materials discourse into the cognoscenti order of discourse by encouraging participants to attend a festival at which they felt culturally competent. Being an attendee at a festival at which they felt culturally competent then allowed them to further reinforce their tastes by extending their experience within the genre and to obtain further consecrated support materials.

8.2.5. Summing up of the cognoscenti order of discourse

Each of the three discourses within the cognoscenti order of discourse: festivals expertise/ignorance, performer expertise/ignorance and materials support shows similar patterns. All of the participants were keen to use the related discourse to style themselves as culturally competent, the competence usually relating to the festival they attended. Two participants, Ben and Kath, did orientate their statements of competence away from that particular festival, however, in order to stress their desired outsider status. If ignorance was admitted this was quickly repaired by a reference to something similar about which the participant was knowledgeable; ignorance was also sometimes used as a way to actually stress competence. The circularity of the lack of experimentation outside the genre fed into further competence within that genre, thus reinforcing an adherence to that particular taste. The stressed support materials varied between the festivals: OperaFest participants were keen on formal printed tomes, whilst PopFest participants placed the emphasis on recorded materials and the sound systems on which to play them. FolkFest participants were not particularly users of either, tending to focus on self-produced recorded material if it was purchased at all.

Direct links to the festival experience are discernible within the cognoscenti order of discourse by its stressing of competence within the festival genre, giving participants a confidence which encouraged attendance and shaped choices during attendance at the festival.

8.3. Social interaction: the ‘connection/detachment’ order of discourse

8.3.1. Introduction

Continuing the thread of the role of social actors which was key to the initiation discourse and implied within the cognoscenti order of discourse, the

connection/detachment order of discourse examines the ways in which the participants did or did not relate to others as an underpinning to the festival experience. This order of discourse draws on the codes relating to social networks and personal image. Three competing discourses comprise this order of discourse:

- the ‘persistent connection’ discourse relates to individuals’ talk about attending the event within a close-knit group of friends, meeting up with other previously well-known contacts at the event, forging enduring connections as a result of festival meetings, as well as telling people with common interests about the festival after the event;
- the ‘temporary connection’ discourse includes comments about casual conversations with strangers;
- the ‘detachment’ discourse includes talk on avoiding contact with other festival attendees and feeling apart from the festival community.

Examples of the three competing discourses within this order of discourse will be presented here. Interviewees’ talk will be drawn on, as will the researcher’s observations of social practices at the festival sites.

8.3.2. The ‘persistent connection’ discourse

The persistent connection discourse included reference to close-knit social relationships which were already in existence before the festival, as well as enduring beyond the event, thus being a feature of the festival experience. Some of the relationship groups existed outside the festival context as well as within it; whilst others were focused on the festival, to be resurrected each year or at a range of similar festivals.

Matt from FolkFest’s network tended to be focused on festivals and he characterized it as having two levels of closeness. Illustrating the way his group worked at the festival,

with the connections remaining persistent throughout the weekend, he used a metaphor of being in a pocket to emphasize his close-knit inner set. The sense of a friendship group connecting and interconnecting as well as dividing and then re-joining also evokes the imagery of knitting, culminating in a complete ensemble and enabled Matt to establish his style as popular within his vast network of friends.

M: You have your pocket group of friends who you get up, suffer your hangover with, have your breakfast and your coffee and then you just kinda split during the day, ehm, disappear off to do your own things. Then lunch-time, there'll be a couple of phone calls, oh you know, where are you at, ah in this pub, whatever. Go and have a beer in your lunch. Uhm and then you split again for the afternoon and you'll see them wandering around, or working, or doing something. And then you meet up in the evening and um, more beer! So, yeah, there is that, that little circle of friends and I think the majority of people work like that.

Beer, phone calls, pubs and lunchtime are all non-discursive elements referred to by Matt, which help to texture this discourse and provide insight into the way these persistent connections work. As well as his close group of friends, Matt and also Alice from FolkFest made reference to a wider set of persistent connections made through folk festivals, again displaying a sociable style:

M: It's one massive circle of friends. I mean, everybody basically knows everybody through somebody.

...

A: It's a very sociable thing to do, is festivals. You meet so many people and our group of people is always growing and you're always meeting more people.

Several of the FolkFest participants also gave specific examples of new additions to their inner friendship group, taken from the outer group and forecast to become persistent after meetings at folk festivals, as in these Matt and Holly extracts, establishing a welcoming style:

M: There's three people at FolkFest I got talking to properly and I know what festivals they're going to this year so, yeah, some of them I'll be at, em, we'll meet up, have a few beers, chat.

...

H: I met a girl called Annie who was the friend of one of my friends and I think she's going to be joining the group now.

Geoff from OperaFest, when talking about the friends he met up with at the festival described a similar *modus operandi* to that of Matt from FolkFest. Geoff, like Matt, described the group coming together then dividing up again, then reconnecting within the festival as well as being brought together year after year to attend, positioning himself as a social lynch-pin:

R: Do you meet anyone else when you're there at all?

G: For the last ooohh ten to fifteen years, yes we have. We've got other friends who come up from London and one who comes up from just outside Oxford and we all get together. And now we know people up there as well so we see them, so yes, that's expanded over the period. [_] We all get our seats in the same place usually so that we can sit together. We tend to go out to lunch. Everybody does their own thing [before and after the opera]. Unless we have an evening free and then we'd all get together.

There were also examples of talk about close-knit groups, which also existed outside the festival, from PopFest interviewees which can be categorized as persistent connections discourse. Alan from PopFest made use of the term 'friends' as well as establishing a style as a family man, to describe his group of fifteen or so fellow PopFest attendees, with his reference to the number of years he had known them giving credence to the closeness of their connections.

A: These are mainly friends that we've got to know in the local villages over the last ten or twelve years. There was probably a link through our son, I think. Yeh, most of them I think from memory have got sons or daughters of around my son's age. We do see that sort of

group of people quite you know every couple of weeks. It's if you bump into people, or I play tennis with some of them. My wife knows them well and plays tennis with some of them.

OperaFest had also brought together Jill's friendship group of six people. Although they were now spread around the country, most of the group members were persistently connected through university attendance and still met up regularly, including annually at OperaFest. Jill stressed their musical links as well as their academic alignment, using a styling as a maths graduate to affirm her own musical credentials too:

J: Well, put it this way, friends of my husband were commiserating with him because he was going to be the only member of the group who wasn't an Oxford mathematician.
[laughs] So we're all keen on music. Everybody else apart from me either sang or played an instrument. Mathematics fits with the music.

Persistent connections made as a result of becoming closer with people from their outer network at festivals were also mentioned by some of the PopFest participants. Lucy and Madeline, styling themselves as friendly, for example, spoke of maintaining the new connections they had made from within an existing wider friendship network.

M: I met a few new people who were perhaps friends of friends.

R: Was there anyone you've kind of kept in touch with?

M: Yeah there are actually yeah. Two girls that I've kept in contact with since. They'll perhaps come out with us now.

...

L: I actually met someone that I've seen him around but I've never really been introduced to him properly who I've become really friends with since.

Styling herself as an integrated member of a folk music-related network, the sense of people in different folk-related roles being persistently connected by folk music was evident in Sophie's comments:

S: I like the fact that there's that sort of blurring of distinctions. [_] I suppose it's the whole inclusivity thing. [_] There's a lot more blurring of boundaries between the performers, musicians, and the ceilidh musicians and the Morris dancers. Everything overlaps.

A similar sense of community-based persistent connection was echoed by Sylvia from OperaFest's comments, establishing a style of being part of an insider group, about being 'united' through membership of OperaFest 'Friends'. However, comments by others suggested that the motivation was perhaps more about early access to tickets rather than friendship.

Personal image could be considered as a non-discursive indicator of connection at festivals, with common styles of dress being observed by the researcher. However, physical condition factors such as the type of venue or the weather make it difficult to confirm this as an indicator of persistent connection, rather than one of temporarily dressing for the occasion. One perhaps more enduring image feature which was commented on by David from FolkFest was the prevalence of full beards amongst the men at FolkFest, a factor also noted by the researcher. David speculated that the link between beards and folk festivals was deeper than a desire to fit in with others at the festival and usually adorned the folk festival attendee before he became deeply involved in the folk scene, perhaps therefore being categorizable as an indicator of a persistent connection to the folk scene:

D: I think the beards and the folk activities and the Morris dancing converge. I can't think of anyone who grew a beard because he'd become a Morris dancer, but you get quite a few people with beards who turn up and express an interest in dancing. So you've got to look further back for the reasons.

Callum from FolkFest, also bearded, explained however that beards were not necessarily a bid for folk style and that having long hair, as he did, actually set him

apart from the younger members of the folk scene:

R: The beard as well, that's quite, I mean there's so many people with beards

C: No no no, that's just laziness

R: Oh right so that's not a conscious decision then

C: No, I uh, I don't have to shave every day, I don't shave every week.

R: It's like a little goatee beard.

C: That's cause I've spent all year where I did just grow that bit. Um, that's because someone called me by my sister's name – we look very close to each other and the one thing I could make myself look different was grow a beard.

...

R: And you've got quite long hair as well. Is that a folk thing, or is that something else?

C: Kinda. It's more of a statement. It probably doesn't fit so much now. I've got people telling me I should cut my hair and I should stop wearing the funky trousers because the youngsters that are coming through into the same scene aren't dressing like that so I'm almost aging myself.

The chance to demonstrate a festival attendee style when talking to culturally sympathetic friends after the events was evident in some of the interviewees' talk. However, this styling was rare and did not seem to have been a motivation for attendance. Sylvia from OperaFest, for example spoke of the possibility of taking the chance to tell musically minded friends about her experience and Alex from FolkFest also used festival talk with her fellow folkies to stress their connections:

S: They're our most musically minded friends but they don't live [nearby] so I'm sure next time we see them we'll regale them with a blow-by-blow account.

...

A: We had good conversations about it and other people have been encouraged to come again next year.

The persistent connection discourse therefore features within all three sets of festivals discourse, encompassing friendship groups which are already in existence. This discourse was particularly prevalent amongst the FolkFest participants. Closeness within a group of previously more distantly connected friends was engendered by attendance at the festival in some cases. Membership of the OperaFest Friends organization also gave a sense of persistent connection to a festival community, although not on a close-knit level.

8.3.3. The ‘temporary connection’ discourse

Examples of temporary connection discourse were again identifiable in participants from across the three festivals and related to talk of fleeting, non-persistent, connections made by chance rather than design. Temporary connections were usually made through chatting to adjacent audience members, during refreshment breaks, or to festival neighbours.

The impression of chance encounters was gained from the use of phrases such as ‘happen to’ or ‘find yourself’, as illustrated by Christine, Barry, Janice and Lydia of OperaFest:

C: If we’re at things we’ll talk to people but there’s no, we don’t meet friends up there. It’s just the people that we happen to be at the same thing with, effectively people we’re sat next to.

...

B: There was a couple, I don’t know quite where they came from, but they were staying where I was and we had to come out the doors together. So we had a conversation.

...

L: Do you find yourself talking to people that sit next to you?

J: I think you, maybe in your B&B, sometimes you do have a little bit of a chat about

things

There was no talk of keeping in touch with these temporary acquaintances, however, rather a styling of being friendly and open where necessary within limits, separating this discourse from that of persistent connection. PopFest interviewees, such as Mike and Alan, also spoke of chance encounters, demonstrating a style of restraint, again using the phrase ‘happened to’ and emphasizing forced proximity, as the key to connection:

M: There was just the occasional people that you happened to be sitting at the same table, sort of chat about things. But nothing more than that.

...

C: We spoke to a few people on the campsite that were next door to us

OperaFest interviewees, such as Lydia, for example, also referred to personal image as a vehicle of temporary connection:

L: It's quite nice to look the part. [_] I think there's an atmosphere that does encourage you to dress up.

Evidence of the temporary connection discourse was not particularly common throughout the dataset, but most prevalent amongst OperaFest interviewees, indicating a willingness to acknowledge a connection to other festival attendees but a reluctance to take the connection further.

8.3.4. The ‘detached’ discourse

Within the connected/detached order of discourse, the detached discourse includes talk about attending the festival alone, as well as talk of being different or separate from the other festival attendees in various ways.

Of the FolkFest participants, only Kath hinted at ‘detachment’ when reporting staying in

the pub whilst the friends, with whom she was spending the weekend, attended events, styling herself as uninterested in festival events:

K: The couple that we stay with go to a lot of events. They go to as many as they can but they'll leave us in the pub and they'll go and see someone.

There were numerous examples of detached discourse amongst OperaFest attendees, indicating a styling of focused separateness. Both Barry and Keith, for example, mentioned attending 'alone', and Clive emphasised his detachment:

C: I think I'm a fairly solitary person. I don't really think it's a social experience. I don't feel I'm mixing with like-minded people who I could talk to opera about.

Similarly, Roy, Sylvia and Maureen also stressed that they tended to purposely stay detached from others at the festival, but by using the pronoun 'we', styling themselves as within a private, self-sufficient married unit:

R: We don't talk to a lot of other people. It's a going out together thing.

as did Sylvia:

S: It's a private holiday for us. We might occasionally chat to somebody but we're not looking to be particularly sociable when we're there.

and Maureen:

M: We don't go to make lots of new friends and exchange addresses

Detached discourse was not common amongst PopFest interviewees. Daniel, despite attending with a group of three friends, however, hinted at feeling detached from others and purposely distancing himself when commenting on his perception of the outlooks of the festival crowd. This comment implies a self-styling as adventurous in contrast with the other festival attendees:

D: I think other people are quite conservative.

The detached discourse was therefore, like the persistent connection and temporary connection discourse, in evidence in the talk of interviewees from each of the festivals, although it appeared most common amongst the talk of OperaFest attendees.

8.3.5. Summing up of the connection/detachment order of discourse

As shown above, examples of the connection/detachment order of discourse were identifiable within participants' talk from across all three festivals, as well as within the non-discursive discourse in evidence. The use of this discourse within the talk of the interviewees tended to vary between festivals, with OperaFest talk tending to feature detached or temporary connection discourse, although persistent connection discourse was not completely absent; whilst the FolkFest and PopFest interviewees tended to display more examples of the persistent connection discourse and less temporary connection or detached discourse. Daniel from PopFest and Kath from FolkFest did however continue their trend towards separateness noted within the cognoscenti order of discourse.

The styles demonstrated by the participants within each discourse varied. Within the persistent connection discourse there was an emphasis on presenting as friendly, sociable, popular and as an insider. Within the temporary connection discourse styling was of restraint and friendliness when necessary. Styles within the detached discourse, however, tended to be of a focused and intended separateness. Several of the OperaFest participants styled themselves as within a self-sufficient married couple, whilst Kath from FolkFest and Daniel from PopFest highlighted the contrast in their own styling compared to others at the festivals they attended.

What was not in evidence in the dataset was evidence of new persistent connections formed between people who were completely unconnected before the festival.

Anecdotal evidence that this was not completely out of the question was hinted at by Sophie, who met her boyfriend at a folk festival when they were both stewarding there three years before. Even in that case, however, they could be said to be linked already into a 'stewards' community.

8.4. Conclusions on the orders of discourse

These three orders of discourse provided evidence of the role of social and cultural processes in the music festival experience (see Appendix 14). The orders of discourse were seen to be inter-related and worked together to establish the styles of the participants. Initiation discourse marked the beginning of the participants' styling as a festival insider or outsider; cognoscenti discourse allowed the participants to build on this styling through the highlighting of their relevant cultural knowledge; whilst the connection/disconnection discourse showed their level of integration into the festival networks, achieved through their confidence in styling themselves as cognoscenti.

Each order of discourse also drew on elements of the other two. Participants highlighted the role of social actors within their initiation discourse, for example, linking this to the social actor-oriented connection/disconnection discourse. Links from the initiation discourse to the cognoscenti discourse were also discernible through talk on the burgeoning of cultural knowledge during initiation. To complete the set of links, connection/disconnection discourse featured the role of cultural knowledge as a passport to membership of the festival community.

The key elements of the initiation order of discourse were those of place, time and social actors. Talk demonstrated that the taste for a festival genre could be traced back to the early or youth years, with the events of the youth years being a particularly rich source of this discourse. Missed initiations which featured within the early initiation discourse were often repaired later in life, evidenced by the content of initiation

discourse from a later period of the participant's life. Initiation discourse allowed the majority of the participants to style themselves as initiated into the festival genre, and therefore a *bone fide* member of that festival community. The two participants who used initiation discourse to stress their non-initiation into the festival genre, or their initiation into alternative genres, were purposively demonstrating their style as un-initiated outsiders.

Once initiated into a genre of music, the cognoscenti order of discourse showed how cultural competence was built further through various means, including festival attendance, performance viewing and the use of support materials. These reinforcements again allowed the participants to confirm the establishment of styles which legitimated their attendance at the festival through which they were recruited. Social actors provided input throughout the building of cultural competence. These alliances with culturally like-minded social actors also helped to further reinforce the style of the participant as cognoscente. As in the initiation discourse, the two participants who had styled themselves as outsiders continued to stress their relative lack of cultural competence relating to the festival genre.

Again highlighting the styling by most of the participants as that of belonging to the festival scene, what was most interesting about the connection/disconnection order of discourse was a lack of talk about sustained connections made as a result of festival attendance. Festival norms relating to social interaction appeared to differ, with many of the participants from PopFest and FolkFest tending to style themselves as part of large inter-related groups, while the OperaFest participants oscillated between detachment and temporary connections. Although a feeling of being part of a large festival community, despite minimal social interaction, was emphasized by a handful of participants, for most, interaction was to people already known, usually people of whom

it was already known that cultural tastes were shared.

The orders of discourse discovered in the text of the interviews and observations therefore point to the conclusion that the cultural competence built by the early twenties tends to be enduring and thus shapes the experience of future festivals. This early tendency towards a particular taste seems to be reinforced over subsequent years by social interactions with cultural sympathizers: these social interactions therefore also play a role in the festival experience.

Chapter 9: Conclusions

9. Introduction

This thesis has several aims. It aims to investigate the research question of '*what is the role of social and cultural capital in the music festival experience*'. In answering this question, a further aim is to contribute to the development of the theories of social and cultural capital. This thesis also aims to consider alternative theories which may play a role in the music festival experience. Finally, it aims to make suggestions with regard to cultural policies relating to the social and cultural features of festivals. The accomplishment of all these aims will be reported in this conclusions chapter.

9.1. The role of social and cultural capital in the music festival experience

The findings of this thesis demonstrate that social and cultural capital do indeed play a role in the music festival experience in a number of interdependent ways. After a thorough critical review of the key empirical and theoretical literature relating to festivals and social and cultural capital, thirty-three attendees of three comparable festivals were interviewed. Their accounts were transcribed verbatim and were subject to a two-stage qualitative analysis. First, an *a priori* content analysis matched the data to the theoretical facets. Secondly, a detailed critical discourse analysis revealed how interviewees used different sets of ideas to explain and account for their experiences of the festival. In particular, the analysis focused on how different sets of ideas, or 'orders of discourse', about the festival experience were used by the interviewees. Orders of discourse are defined by Fairclough (2003) as the socially shaped combination of discourses (ways of representing), genres (ways of acting) and styles (ways of being). The analysis explored the orders of discourse by identifying the constituent parts, or discourses, of each discursive 'order'. These were then used to show how these were

used by the interviewees to ground their experiences of attending festivals in their cultural tastes, as well as establishing their 'style' as a festival 'insider'.

The three different orders of discourse were entitled 'initiations', 'cognoscenti' and 'connection/detachment'. Each of these can be used to critique and develop established theoretical narratives about social and cultural capital.

Resonating with concepts of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2002 [1986]), talk within the cognoscenti order of discourse illustrated the role of cultural expertise or ignorance in relation to first, their festival of choice, and, secondly, the genre of music they were there to enjoy. The cognoscenti order of discourse included three discourses, each focusing on an aspect of cultural competence: festivals, performances and support materials. Using ideas from within this discursive order, interviewees were able to style themselves as 'knowledgeable insiders', or as outsiders if they preferred, in relation to the festival they were attending.

The initiations order of discourse, also resonating with cultural capital, particularly the concept of habitus, demonstrated how the individual's style as a member of the festival cognoscenti had first been activated. Each of the discourses within this order of discourse focused on one of three life phases: the early years, from infancy to the pre-teens; the youth years from the teens to the early twenties; and the maturity years, from the mid-twenties onwards. Using ideas from within this discursive order, interviewees were able to style themselves as 'initiated' into the particular genre of music, a process, in Bourdieu's terms, of learning the rules of the game. In doing so they emphasised their epiphany-like introductions and their long standing commitment to the genre.

The concept of social capital (Bourdieu, 2002 [1986]; Putnam, 2000) was shown to be inter-linked with that of cultural capital when the connection/detachment order of discourse was considered. This order of discourse, resonating with both social capital

and cultural capital, explored whether, and how, festival attendees used both their cultural expertise and their existing social networks at the festival. Persistent connection discourse was used to demonstrate the ways in which some used their cultural capital as a way of intensifying their social capital within a close-knit community of known associates. In contrast, temporary connection discourse and detachment discourse emphasized a purposive distancing from others at the festival, despite, in most cases, the relevant cultural capital being in evidence. Using ideas from within this discourse, interviewees were able to establish styles relating to the degree to which they were 'connected' as 'social insiders' to other festival participants.

9.1.1. Focus on the role of cultural capital in the festival experience

Critical discourse analysis of the data, as reported in Chapter 8, found that virtually every participant in this study employed taste and cultural knowledge in their accounts of their festival experience. The strong presence of cultural capital in the accounts of the participants confirms it as a factor which plays a role in the music festival experience.

Interviewees reported that the development of cultural taste began in the early and youth years of their lives. Experiences during family life sowed the seeds of cultural capital for some. Many of the interviewees, however, emphasised their initiation into the cultural taste associated with their current festival choices in their teens and early twenties. A strong conclusion is, therefore, that the development of an individual's cultural taste in the youth years forms a particularly significant feature along the path to festival attendance. Experiences encountered in the later years of life were also shown occasionally to feature in the development of taste profiles, suggesting that the development of cultural capital is an ongoing project for individuals. Demonstrating a link to the concept of social capital, critical discourse analysis also identified that significant social actors, especially peers and siblings during the youth years, played a

key role in the development of cultural capital.

Once the interviewees were initiated into a particular genre, the cultural capital associated with that initiation endured at least up until their attendance at the festivals featured in the current study. They reported, notwithstanding the life-stage at which their initiation took place, a strong connection between the establishment of their cultural capital and their attendance at the festivals featured in the study.

Cultural capital was also further developed within that genre over the course of the interviewees' lives up until the point they participated in this study. Interviewees reported that they consistently and repeatedly attended festivals and similar events, building cultural capital in the process. Thus it can be concluded that there is a circularity relating to festival attendance: cultural capital provides the competence to attend the festivals, at which further cultural capital is developed.

Systematic observations of the festival settings and the activities of festival attendees also provided valuable input to the fulfilment of the aims of the project. This approach also tied in with the aspect of critical discourse analysis, which allows the inclusion of non-discursive as well as discursive elements of talk. Both methods enabled the identification of objectified manifestations of cultural capital. These are termed 'support materials' and included items such as cds and vinyl, music systems and music encyclopaedia. These supported festival attendance through their contribution to the development of cultural capital in their users. Possession and use of the 'appropriate' support materials was a key element of the 'cognoscenti' order of discourse, through which participants established their position as not only festival 'insiders' but also 'insiders' to the genre. It can be concluded therefore that cultural capital in its objectified forms also plays a role in the festival experience in various ways.

Drawing on reports of the characteristics of participants, conclusions are suggested

relating to how academic qualifications levels and social class may also play a role in the festival experience. High levels of academic qualifications were found across the screened festival participants during the first stage of participant recruitment, with a high percentage of those having a first or postgraduate degree. Qualification levels were particularly high amongst the opera festival attendees, but universally high amongst attendees across all three festivals. This finding provides a link to Bourdieu's connection of high levels of institutionalised cultural capital being associated with high educational levels.

Similarly, there are indications that social class, as well as socio-economic status, may also be linked to festival attendance for the same reasons. The interviewees almost all defined themselves as middle class. They were also almost all classifiable within the top half of the National Statistics Socio-Economic Categories of occupation. This finding ties in with the underpinning of Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital which links a high volume of cultural consumption with higher levels of social class.

9.1.2. Focus on the role of social capital in the festival experience

Observations of social interactions, as well as of festival attendees' self-presentation, also provided insight into the operation of social inter-relationships at the festivals. The interviewees' discourse also enabled understanding to be gained of the role of social capital in the festival experience.

Social and cultural capitals were also found to be closely inter-linked as they played a role in the festival experience. In the interviews, participants styled themselves as part of the festival 'cognoscenti', based on their developed cultural capital. Initiations discourse also drew on social capital themes when participants' discussed the role of their inter-relationships with peers and siblings in relation to the development of their cultural tastes.

In terms of social networking with others at the festival itself, social capital notions of connection and detachment come to the fore. Reflecting Putnam's (2000) interpretation of the theory of social capital, which will be discussed later in this chapter under bonding and bridging, interviewees reported that different forms of social connection emerged during types of social connection. This reflects the idea that social capital takes different forms which can facilitate different types of social connection.

Many of the pop and folk festival attendees established a 'socially connected' style, which was an important part of their festival experience. In doing so, they referred to the large friendship groups at the festival of which they were part. These groups had either specifically arranged to attend the festival together or had anticipated, based on previous experience, that known contacts would be there. By choosing to attend the festival, the opportunity was created, and taken, to build social capital with existing acquaintances. This form of social capital-building, where relations are reinforced, is termed 'bonding social capital' (Putnam, 2000). Bridging social capital, where new social relationships are formed, was only rarely reported by any of the interviewees. It can thus be concluded that bonding social capital played a role in the festival experience at the pop and folk festivals, whereas bridging social capital did not.

Attendance within large friendship groups was not reported as the norm at the opera festival. Interviewees reported a greater tendency for social detachment, punctuated by brief serendipitous social interactions. A sense of being part of the festival community, however, was evidenced by many interviewees reporting being members of the opera festival's 'Friends' organization. The benefit of access to advance bookings, rather than a desire to network socially with other festival guests, was the main motivation for joining the 'Friends'. As such, it can be concluded that neither bonding nor bridging social capital played a role in the opera festival experience.

9.1.3. Summary of the role of social and cultural capital in the festival experience

This thesis finds that social and cultural capitals play important roles in the festival experience. It found that the high level of competence associated with the possession of cultural capital is a passport to insider status at the festival attended. The cultural capital-enabled route to festival attendance is embarked upon through initiations at a variety of life stages. However, the youth years were a particularly rich period to begin a festival-related cultural interest, often encouraged by the influence of social actors in the form of peers or siblings. Cultural capital is also used as an entrée to social groups of cognoscenti, particularly playing a role in the pop and folk festivals experience. This membership of culturally-like-minded already-known acquaintances encourages the formation of bonding social capital and promotes attendance at festivals where further bonding is anticipated. Bridging social capital, that is the anticipation of the formation of new connections to previously unknown attendees, however, does not play an important role in the festival experience.

9.2. Implications for theories relating to cultural capital

9.2.1. Habitus and field

Capital locates a person within a field and the habitus is the individual's experience of this position. Bourdieu's field (1993 [1983]) also provides a link between social and cultural capitals within this research. The festival settings were shown through observations to be part of a linked social space through their similarities. All provided the potential for social interactions to varying degrees and all facilitated the display of objective manifestations of cultural capital.

The conclusions of this thesis about the emphasis on cultural capital development in the

youth years may be linked to Bourdieu's theories. The habitus, that is, a long-lasting disposition of the mind and body, or 'feel for the game', is the embodied facet of Bourdieu's (1984 [1979]; 1993 [1983]; 2002 [1986]) concept of cultural capital. Bourdieu suggests that a habitus is primarily formed during the early stages of life within the family and then further developed at school. The thesis data supports Bourdieu's suggestion that the habitus is enduring in nature. The findings suggest that once a feel for the game of a certain type of music is acquired through initiation, that orientation is retained and deepened through life. However, contrary to Bourdieu's emphasis on habitus formation in early childhood, this thesis found that the habitus, certainly in relation to music taste, tends to be most likely to be developed through initiations in the youth years rather than the early childhood years.

This study found that support materials were important in the objective demonstration by individuals of their cultural capital. In this facet of cultural capital theory, Bourdieu's suggestion that cultural capital is objectified through projection onto cultural goods is therefore supported by the findings of this thesis.

The possession of embodied, as well as objectified, cultural capital enables individuals to be able to recognise others through the signs and symbols signifying similar cultural capitals, according to Bourdieu. The sense of being part of a community of like-minded people at the festival was identifiable in the findings of this thesis, thus supporting Bourdieu's theory in this respect. However, this recognition was not universally reported, particularly by the opera festival attendees. Even where signs and symbols were recognised by attendees, social interaction with unknown attendees was only rarely triggered at any of the festivals and was not sustained afterwards.

9.2.2. Educational qualifications

Another area of Bourdieu's cultural capital theory which the findings of this thesis suggests should be modified is the link between educational qualifications and cultural practices. In essence, Bourdieu (1984 [1979]) linked higher levels of educational qualification to 'legitimate taste', while according to Bourdieu, 'popular taste' was more likely to be consumed by people with lower levels of educational qualification. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the findings of this thesis in this respect need to be treated with care. The qualitative methodology allows the in-depth exploration of individuals' views: it can only provide indications of group characteristics due to the lack of statistical validity. However, it can be concluded that so-called 'popular' music, which could comprise content from the pop and folk festivals within some classifications, is not only consumed by those with lower educational qualifications. So, although Bourdieu's linking of those with high educational qualifications to a legitimate taste in music, which could include some of the content of the opera festival, is corroborated, it is also possible for this study to show the possibility of linking individuals with high educational qualifications to a taste for popular music.

Two possible adaptations of Bourdieu's theories are suggested by this thesis. First, it should be acknowledged that the music landscape in 21st century England is different to that of mid 20th century France and could affect categorisations of legitimate and popular music as well as the related cultural practices. Secondly, on the evidence of this research, festival attendance itself, regardless of musical content, could be linked to higher levels of educational attainment.

9.2.3. Socio-economic status

This study also suggests that modifications to Bourdieu's linkage of levels of social class to different zones of taste should be made within the field of music festivals. The

festival interviewees mostly defined themselves as middle class. In effect, therefore this study found that a classification of middle class could be linked to all three of Bourdieu's taste zones, rather than mainly to legitimate taste zones as he suggests. As with educational qualifications, it may be that the field of festivals provides the specific environment within which this occurs: further research is suggested to compare festival attendees with non-festival attendees.

The thesis findings also echo Quinn's (2005b) proposal that attendance at festivals may be a mechanism used by elites to symbolically emphasise social demarcations. This study did find that the attendees of all the festivals were remarkably similar to each other in terms of socio-demographic characteristics. They tended to be from the middle classes and tended to possess higher levels of academic qualifications. The decision on which festival to attend was found to be based on the perceived cultural kudos of a festival within a genre. Therefore it could be concluded that festival attendance can emphasise social demarcation as Quinn (2003) suggests in her study of Wexford Festival Opera. However, although the interviewees of this thesis were mostly middle class, their status as elites in their own eyes was conferred by their high levels of cultural competence within the genre, rather than through their middle class positions or educational qualifications.

9.2.4. A taste for complexity

A taste for complexity is one of Bourdieu's criteria for the recognition of high levels of cultural capital. Bourdieu identifies complexity as a feature of legitimate culture.

However, this thesis found that a taste for complexity was discernible in the discourse of participants from each of the three festivals, including the pop and folk festivals. It is therefore possible to suggest that a music type does not have to be considered to be 'legitimate' for a taste for that music to indicate high levels of cultural capital. So, high

levels of cultural capital may be recognisable in connection with a range of music genres, including in connection with ‘popular’ music, rather than only within the so-called ‘legitimate’ genres, as Bourdieu suggests.

9.3. Implications for theories relating to social capital

9.3.1. Bonding and bridging social capital

This thesis confirmed that social and cultural capitals (Bourdieu, 2002 [1986]; Putnam, 2000) were inter-linked in the field of festivals. Cultural capital was seen to enable bonding social capital; while social capital, through social actors within social networks, enabled the development of cultural capital.

This thesis suggests that Putnam’s concept of bonding social capital should be modified in connection with festivals. Putnam’s theory is that bonding social capital brings together people who already share social and cultural similarities. The findings of this thesis suggest that bonding at festivals is only between people already known to each other. Bonding was not merely between people who share social and cultural similarities. There was little evidence of bridging social capital. This finding also supports Portes’ (1998; 1996) worries that the processes of social capital formation may lead to social exclusion through festivals’ emphasis on bringing together groups of homogeneous people.

9.4. Considering other theoretical explanations

9.4.1. Omnivorousness

Peterson and Kern’s (1996) theory of omnivorousness was also considered within this thesis as a possible alternative to cultural capital in playing an important role in the festival experience. These theorists’ suggestion that a higher status individual may

include a range of music genres within their patterns of music consumption is not supported by this thesis. This conclusion was enabled by a qualitative approach which focused on the in-depth exploration of individuals' activities, rather than the quantitative methodology of Peterson and Kern. Although festival attendees, who were mostly found to be of higher status, were found to consume different music genres, including popular music, the linkage was between one individual and one music genre rather than one individual and many genres, as Peterson and Kern reported. It should be noted, however, that Peterson and Kern's theories are partially confirmed, in that a taste for popular music, as well as a taste for legitimate music, was found amongst middle class participants.

9.4.2. Tribes and subcultures

Maffesoli's (1996 [1988]) tribes theory emphasises the shared social territories of groups, a view which is supported by the findings of this thesis. His theory that members of tribes tend to demonstrate similar signs and symbols was borne out by observations at the festivals. However, his suggestion that individuals are members of a range of tribes and that membership is short-lived is not supported when related to the festival experiences reported here. Social allegiances were not found to be fleeting and the values shifting, as Maffesoli's theories suggest. Rather, this thesis finds that the participants were highly committed to their particular sets of cultural tastes and social groupings, allegiances which had endured since their youth in most cases. Festivals were seen to be homogeneous in social class terms, with the majority of the participants being of the middle classes. Matarasso's (1996) suggestion that festivals are sites of interaction across social boundaries was also therefore not supported.

Similarly, the signs and symbols cited by Bennett (1999) as indications of membership of a lifestyle-based sub-culture were evident when festival attendees were studied for

this thesis. However, Bennett's rejection of socio-economic factors was not supported by this thesis: rather, festival attendees were found to be relatively homogeneous in their socio-economic categories.

9.4.3. Liminality

Turner's phase of liminality (Turner, 1969) may also be usefully considered in the light of this thesis' findings relating to bonding and bridging social capital. At first glance the theory appears to be supported in its acknowledgement that festivals offer 'time out' and the potential therefore to experience 'communitas' or intense comradeship. However, there is no evidence within the findings of this thesis to show that 'communitas' develops at a festival with previously unknown people, that is, a form of bridging social capital. There is also no evidence that being at the festival in the suspended state of liminality encourages a different way of cultural being, as suggested by Turner. Instead, suggesting support for Lefebvre's (1991 [1947]) theory that festivals provide the chance for a magnification of people's usual interests and ways of being, attendees appeared to use the opportunity to intensify the social and cultural capital already possessed rather than to diversify.

9.5. Summary of the application of the findings to theory

The rigorous qualitative approach and the critical discourse analysis of this thesis have enabled the aims of identifying the role of social and cultural capital in the music festival experience, as well as applying these findings to theory, to be successfully fulfilled. With regard to cultural capital, several applications of the conclusions to theory are made. This thesis finds that the development of habitus, with the focus here on festival-related music taste, was stronger in the youth years, rather than the early childhood years, as suggested by Bourdieu. Music taste, once formed, is found to be enduring, in line with Bourdieu's habitus theories. This thesis also finds indications that

festivals are predominantly attended by those with higher educational qualifications and those who self-define as middle class, although it recommends that these indications are confirmed by further research. This thesis highlights that the type of festivals these middle class people attend varies. The festivals do not only feature the legitimate genres suggested by Bourdieu as being characteristic choices of the educated and middle classes. Although higher status people were found at all three festivals, there is no suggestion that they might consume, to the same intensity, a variety of genres of cultural offering. This leads to a questioning of Peterson and Kern's omnivore theory.

In relation to social capital theories, social actors and social networks were found to play a role in the development of cultural taste from infancy onwards, as Bourdieu suggests. The shifting values and allegiances of tribes and sub-cultures theories were not identified. In relation to Putnam's theories of social capital, bridging social capital was not found to be prevalent at the festivals, leading to a questioning of his suggestion that events of this nature encourage social inclusion. This thesis found that instead, festivals promote bonding social capital and therefore an intensification of social exclusion for those not already part of the culturally-enabled network. This conclusion also calls into question cultural policy-related attempts to use such events as a vehicle to foster understanding between diverse social groups via the encouragement of audience diversity.

9.6. Festivals and cultural policy

As identified in the introductory chapter, this thesis places festivals within a cultural policy context. The conclusions of this thesis are therefore of relevance to contemporary debates on cultural policy, and specifically to policies relating to music and festivals.

9.6.1. Music: blurring the boundaries

When considering the relevance of this study to music policy, a key finding was that the festival attendees identified complexity in the music at all three festivals. This suggests the boundaries between genres of music are blurred and the experience of music labelled as high art does not necessarily give people a superior experience to that of music labelled popular. This finding vindicates the Arts Council's efforts to broaden its definition of high quality music and suggests that it is important that public money should be allocated to the full range of genres of music. Building on this conclusion, it is recommended that music festivals of all genres should be considered for support when cultural policies are being discussed.

9.6.2. Youth: encouraging cultural experience and experimentation

This thesis found that the festival attendees' music tastes developed particularly strongly during their youth years: that is between the ages of 13 and 25. At this life-stage people seemed to be open to new musical experiences which often became life-long musical affiliations. Based on the findings of this thesis, it is therefore appropriate to focus cultural policy efforts on encouraging young people to experience a wide range of music during this life-stage. It should be noted that this is not just a matter of encouraging those who are more accustomed to listening to popular music to try out classical music. Classical musicians also need to be encouraged to listen to popular music of all types, for example. Other genres of music, such as jazz, folk and world music should also be included in the palette offered for experimentation.

The recent commitment by the government to pilot a scheme to offer schoolchildren 'five hours of culture' a week (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2008b, p. 12) appears to be designed to help broaden the cultural experience of young people. However, closer inspection reveals that these five hours would not necessarily be

incorporated into the school day, thus placing the onus on parents or guardians to provide the impetus and transport if necessary. The findings of this thesis suggest that the importance of this life-stage for cultural development would justify finding time within the school day to introduce young people to a range of cultural experiences.

Festivals provide opportunities for cultural policy implementation relating to the youth life-stage. All three of the festivals studied offered the chance for young people to participate in cultural activities in line with the musical genre of the festival. Folkfest was particularly strong in its provision of the ‘Shooting Roots’ youth programme (Shooting Roots, 2009), designed to encourage young people between the ages of 12 to 25 to develop their interests and proficiency in music, dance and theatre. Further government support for these programmes within festivals could help to develop and build the cultural interests of young people. Initiatives similar to the free theatre tickets scheme for under 26s (Arts Council England / Metro, 2009), as mentioned earlier in the thesis, could also be used to draw in young people and encourage experimentation.

Popfest and Folkfest were strong in terms of their encouragement of family attendance. Indeed, participants mentioned attending specifically in order to give their children an early introduction to the experience of live music. The ‘safe’ feel of the festival environment was also mentioned by PopFest and FolkFest participants as being reassuring when attending with children (or as children). Festivals therefore appear to be conducive to enabling young people to experience and experiment with music and deserve inclusion in cultural policy.

9.6.3. Triggering cultural interest in the adult years

It was found during this research that people could also become interested in different types of music as they got older. A university course, a career change, or a new partnership, were found to be possible triggers for initiation into a new taste. Cultural

policy makers should therefore be aware that the offer of opportunities to encourage experimentation at a later stage of life may also be welcomed. Opportunities to experiment could be offered by cultural events organisers, including festival directors, via links with universities, for example, via estate agents to people moving house, via register offices to people getting married, or via old people's homes.

Festivals offer the opportunity for adults to build on new cultural interests, as was found in relation to OperaFest in particular. Festivals can provide an intensive few days of mental stimulation for people in their later years. Festival organisation policies should therefore ensure that any access barriers are removed in order to ensure that adults, including the elderly and infirm, are able to enjoy the festival experience.

9.6.4. Promoting social interaction

Government policies see culture and the arts as tools to combat social exclusion, bridge barriers between groups and foster community cohesion (Labour Party, 2006). This study concludes that music festivals, at least, do not appear to perform this function.

This research supported Bourdieu's linking of social class and education level to attendance at arts events, with most of the interviewees being classifiable as in the higher socio-economic and educational levels. This suggests that government aims to combat social exclusion and bridge barriers between social groups are not working, at least within music festivals. It is suggested, therefore that further efforts, by policy makers, building on the PAT 10 report into social exclusion (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2001), as well as by festival organisers, are made to achieve these aims. Attempts to attract festival attendees from lower socio-economic levels could be made, for example, through methods similar to the cheap ticket partnership between the Royal Opera House and the Sun newspaper (Pidd, 2008).

This thesis also found that bridging-type social interactions between people who were

previously unknown to each other were not common, particularly at OperaFest. Based on comments by some of the participants that they had feelings of trust in others at the festival and felt that they were with others of musically like-mind, there does appear to be the potential for festival policies to be developed which could encourage more bridging interactions at festivals. Techniques such as games and workshops which emphasise talking to previously unknown festival guests could be successful. A simple technique, such as, where space allows, arranging the audience seating around tables, rather than in a series of rows, could also encourage social interactions. Follow-up events, such as those organised by the OperaFest Friends group, could help to sustain relationships beyond the festivals.

The policy-related term community cohesion is problematic, as pointed out earlier. It could be interpreted as denoting cohesion within groups, rather than the across-group cohesion which is usually understood to be the aim. As Crespi-Vallbona and Richards (2007) suggest, there is a tension between the use of festivals to lessen social and cultural differences and their use by individuals to emphasise identity, thus highlighting differences. This study has shown that festivals tend to emphasise group identity by encouraging conformity to norms. However, the encouragement of attendance by more diverse groups, as suggested above, may help to lessen the tendency to align with understood festival norms, thus increasing diversity. Attempts to then promote social integration between diverse groups could be achieved by social interaction policies such as those designed to encourage bridging suggested above.

9.6.5. Festivals policy

As has been shown above, this thesis has illustrated the role of festivals within the context of cultural policy. Cultural policy may incorporate reference to festivals at various levels. As mentioned in the thesis introduction, at national level, Arts Council

policies are of relevance. The Arts Council has published various documents which relate to festivals. The National Carnival Arts Strategy (Nindi, 2005) mentions festivals briefly, for example. There is also mention of festivals in policy documents relating to specific areas of the country, in particular, London, and sometimes specific target groups, in particular, young people (Arts Council England, 2005; 2006b). The Arts Council has also commissioned investigations specifically relating to festivals, as pointed out earlier in this thesis (Long and Owen, 2006). However, there is no published national strategy relating to festivals. This thesis has shown that festivals are an important setting for several key cultural issues. It is therefore recommended that this Arts Council gap is filled.

Festivals may also be mentioned at regional and local level, such as in the Greater London Council's recent cultural document (Nadkarni and Homfray, 2009) and the Milton Keynes Arts Strategy (Milton Keynes Council, 2008). However, again festivals are given little prominence. A lead at national level may help to encourage action at regional and local level.

Finally, the festival directors themselves have the opportunity to shape the cultural policy for the festival they are organising. However, this opportunity may be limited without national and regional strategy to draw upon and may be constrained by a need to please partners and sponsors, as well as to make a profit or at least break even. Again, a need for direction at national level is indicated. It is hoped that the findings of this thesis will provide impetus for action.

9.7. Limitations of the thesis

Although this thesis has been able to critique social and cultural capital theories through the use of a rigorous qualitative methodology, it should be noted that the findings were based on data collection at only three small-scale music festivals located in England.

The qualitative methods used were strong in their close focus on individuals, but did not allow the analysis of large numbers of attendees, or a statistically-valid study of the relationships of attendance to demographic factors such as age, gender, ethnicity, educational level or socio-economic level. Festivals focusing on three music genres were chosen, which between them provided a broad genre range, but necessarily excluded festivals featuring many other music genres.

9.8. Future research recommendations

It is recommended that, in order to confirm the claims made here, further research should be carried out at other music festivals. These additional music festivals could be in a range of locations, including outside the UK, and could feature a range of music genres. A further broadening to look at non-attendees of festivals would also be of interest when considering issues of music taste development.

This thesis focused on music festivals. As pointed out earlier, festivals feature a wide range of topics and activities. Further research, particularly into the possibility of discovering the bridging social capital favoured by cultural policy makers, should include studies of other types of festivals, such as festivals featuring sport, or free local community street festivals.

This research used a qualitative methodology in order to supplement the mainly quantitative focus of Putnam and Bourdieu. The purposive sampling techniques of this study used the demographic composition of the festival audiences as a guide to the recruitment of participants, ensuring a matching spread of characteristics. However, an alternative strategy for future research could be to attempt a focus on selected age tranches or educational level tranches at different festivals in order to investigate the role of social and cultural capital.

Ethnic characteristics were taken into account when selecting participants for this study,

again being guided by the ethnic characteristics observable at the festivals. However, the attendees at all three festivals were almost all white Anglo-Saxon in appearance. Further studies which focus directly on more ethnically diverse attendees at festivals as comparisons, perhaps enabled by the selection of appropriate festivals, would therefore also be of interest in assessing the role of social and cultural capital in the festival experience.

This research, with its findings of homogeneous audiences, has implications for the marketing of festivals. Further research exploring audience segmentation may be fruitful and may feed into the design of appropriate marketing techniques. The finding of this thesis, that the development of music taste tends to accelerate in the teens and early twenties, could also be exploited for further marketing-related research.

9.9. Thesis conclusion

This thesis has shown that the music festival is a significant field for the study of the theoretical concerns of social and cultural capital. The empirical research which has informed this study has highlighted the ways in which cultural capital, particularly cultural competence and the development of music taste; and social capital, particularly the role of social actors and social networks, play a role in the music festival experience. The ways in which social and cultural capital interact and reinforce each other within the music festival experience have also been demonstrated. Finally, this study has been shown to be of importance to contemporary debates on cultural policy.

Music Glossary

Music reference used in thesis	Definition	Source of definition
10,000 Maniacs	US-based alternative rock band formed in 1981 and still active today.	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/10,000_Maniacs
AC/DC	Australian blues-based heavy metal band formed in Sydney in 1973	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
American Contras	Folk dance style where couples dance in two facing lines. Popular in the US.	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Contra_dance
American Squares	Folk dance with four couples arranged in a square facing each other. Also known as 'contemporary Western square dance'.	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Square_dance
Arctic Monkeys	English indie rock band from Sheffield formed in 2002	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arctic_Monkeys
Armstrong, Louis	1901-1971. American jazz trumpeter, singer and bandleader	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Baez, Joan	1941- American folk singer and songwriter with radical political views	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Basie, Count	1904-1984 American jazz bandleader and pianist	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
BBC 6Music	Popular music radio channel including music from 1960s to present day, concentrating on major artists outside the mainstream.	http://www.bbc.co.uk/info/statements2007/radio/6music.shtml
BBC Radio 3	Radio station focusing on classical music and including speech-based programming seeking to inform and educate about culture.	http://www.bbc.co.uk/info/statements2007/radio/radio3.shtml
Beethoven, Ludwig van	1770-1827 German composer and performer.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Benda, Georg	1722-1795 Czech composer	www.oxfordmusiconline.com

Music reference used in thesis	Definition	Source of definition
Bextor, Sophie Ellis	British singer/songwriter. Originally with indie band theaudience, solo debut in 2001. Voice of Ibiza dance music in 2000.	http://www.sophieellisbextor.net/
Big band	A term principally used to describe the swing bands of the 1939s and 40s.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Blaze, Robin	1971- English counter tenor	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robin_Blaze
Bluebeard	Famous fairy tale about a violent nobleman and his wife adapted for at least 30 operas, including as Barbe-bleue in 1866 by Jacques Offenbach as featured at OperaFest.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Bright Eyes	American band formed in 1997 by Conor Oberst and with a rotating band of collaborators from the Omaha indie music scene.	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bright_Eyes_(band)
Britpop	A term first used in the British music press around 1992. Indie-inspired guitar-based pop.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Britten, Benjamin	1913-1976 English composer, conductor and pianist	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Carthy, Eliza	1975- English folk singer and fiddler.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Corelli	1653-1715 Italian composer and violinist	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Cubbit, Geoff	Caller for American style folk dancing.	http://www.eiff.org.uk/performers09/geoffcubitt.html
dance music	20 th century club dance music which evolved out of disco and the invention of the synthesiser	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Davies, Rhodri	Dance caller based in Manchester working in a range of traditional styles.	http://www.barndance.org/bands-callers.html
Death in Venice	Opera by Benjamin Britten first performed in 1973	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
DJ Yoda	British Jewish comedy-influenced DJ with some country, reggae and 80s pop.	http://www.myspace.com/djyodauk

Music reference used in thesis	Definition	Source of definition
Donizetti	1797-1848 A dominant composer in Italian opera, comic and serious	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Early Music	Term which is generally understood to include music from the earliest periods up to the Renaissance. Emphasis on a historically appropriate style of performance.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Elbow	English alternative rock band formed in Greater Manchester in 1990.	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elbow_(band)
Elgar	1857-1934 English composer. Contributed to all the major forms of music except opera.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
English Chamber Orchestra	Originally founded in 1948. Adopted name in 1960. Plays music of all periods written for 'Mozart-sized' ensembles.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
English National Opera	Opera company based in London with policy of performing operas in English	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
English National Orchestra	Freelance chamber orchestra	http://www.abo.org.uk/Information/About-Orchestras/
Fairground Attraction	Scottish acoustic pop group formed in the 1980s	http://www.last.fm/music/Fairground+Attraction
Gilbert, W.S. & Sullivan	Operetta partnership 1836-1911 English dramatist and librettist; 1842-1900 English composer	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Glade	Annual UK electronic music festival	http://www.gladefestival.com/
Glastonbury	The largest greenfield music and performing arts festival in the world first held in 1970.	http://www.glastonburyfestivals.co.uk/
Gloriana	Opera by Benjamin Britten first performed in London in 1953.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Gramophone	UK classical music magazine launched in 1923.	http://www.gramophone.co.uk/

Music reference used in thesis	Definition	Source of definition
Grand opera	French opera of the Romantic period, usually in 5 acts and sung throughout. Grandiose in conception and impressively styled.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Greer, David	1963- Specialist in English madrigals and lutesongs	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Grove	Grove's Dictionary, first published as The Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians in 1878 and is the largest single guide to Western music	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grove_Dictionary_of_Music_and_Musicians
Handel, George Frideric	1685-1759 English composer of German birth. Particularly famous for the oratoria, 'Messiah'	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Harding, Mike	1944- Manchester-born musician, writer, presenter, comedian. Played with skiffle bands in the 60s, folk performer.	http://www.mikeharding.co.uk/
Herbert, Hilary	English caller of various styles of traditional dance.	Users.ox.ac.uk/~paulv/sfdg/pub/weekend08.doc
Hip-hop	A term embracing various aspects of black American cultural life including rap, music created by DJs, grafitti art and acrobatic break dancing.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
I Lombardi	Opera in 4 acts with music by Guiseppi Verdi first performed in 1843.	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/I_Lombardi_alla_prima_crociata
Il Trovatore	'The Troubadour'. Opera written by Verdi first performed in Rome in 1857.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Indie	A term that refers to record labels rather than musical style. Refers to the 'independent' labels which broke the monopoly of the six large record labels in the 1980s.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com

Music reference used in thesis	Definition	Source of definition
Indie-emo	Rooted in the first wave of US emo, a subgenre of hardcore punk in the 80s. Began to be applied to indie music in the mid 90s.	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emo
Iron Maiden	English heavy metal band formed in 1975 and still performing today.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
King Arthur	Opera by Henry Purcell, first performed in London in 1691	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Queen_(magazine)
Kitty, Daisy and Lewis	British R&B / Country / Swing three-piece band of three siblings all multi-instrumentalists	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kitty_Daisy_and_Lewis
Kobbé	Gustav Kobbé is known for his Complete Opera Book (1919) a collection of opera plots and analyses which has become a standard work of reference.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Koop	Electronic jazz duo from Sweden.	http://www.myspace.com/koop
Led Zeppelin	English rock group formed in 1968 and disbanded in 1980.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Lee, Peggy	1920-2002 American popular singer, songwriter and actress. Performed with dance bands in the 1930s and 40s	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Leese, Anna	1981- lyric soprano singer from New Zealand.	http://www.annaleese.com/
Leider	Song. Lieder have existed since 1400 but are principally associated with a particular type of German solo vocal composition of the late 18 th and early 19 th centuries.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Lloyd-Webber, Andrew	1948- London-born composer and producer, especially of musicals.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Madama Butterfly	Opera by Puccini first performed in Milan in 1904	www.oxfordmusiconline.com

Music reference used in thesis	Definition	Source of definition
Man of War	Hip-hop/rap/Christian rap band from US west coast	http://www.myspace.com/manofwar
Maps	Alternative/Electronica/ Indie band from Northampton	http://www.myspace.com/mapsmusic
Marriage of Figaro	Opera by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart first performed in 1786	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
McColl, Kirsty	1959-2000 Punk singer songwriter formerly with The Pogues	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kirsty_MacColl
Metallica	American heavy metal band formed in 1981 and still performing today. Pioneered speed metal, a gritty fusion of heavy metal and hardcore	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Miller, Glen	1904-1944 American dance-band leader and trombonist.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Molly dance	Traditional English dance revived recently particularly in eastern England. The dancers conceal their faces with black soot and dress in black costumes.	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Molly_dance
Morris dance	A lively traditional English dance performed in formation by a group of dancers in a distinctive costume usually wearing bells and ribbons and carrying handkerchiefs or sticks.	http://dictionary.oed.com/
Motörhead	British hard rock band formed in 1975 by Lenny Kilminster, who is the sole original member, and still performing today.	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mot%C3%B6rhead
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus	1756-1791 Austrian composer, particular known for his Viennese classicism	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Music (magazine)	BBC Music magazine published since 1992	www.oxfordmusiconline.com

Music reference used in thesis	Definition	Source of definition
NME	Music magazine originally published in 1946. Changed title from New Musical Express in 1982.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Offenbach, Jacques	1819-1880 German composer of French origin	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Opera	Magazine first published in 1924	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Opera North Orchestra	English Opera Company, founded in 1977, based in Leeds	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Padilla, Maria	Opera in three acts by Donizetti.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Page, Ian	Founder and artistic director of the Classical Opera Company.	http://www.classicalopera.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=42&Itemid=112
Parton, Dolly	1946- American country singer-songwriter	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Pavel Haas Quartet	String quartet based in Prague founded in 2002.	http://www.intermusica.co.uk/pavelhaasquartet
Peter Grimes	Opera by Benjamin Britten to a libretto by Montagu Slater after a poem by George Crabbe. First performed 1945	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Playford Style	Style of dance based on John Playford's folk dance publications, including <i>The English Dancing Master</i> first published in 1651	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Q	Popular music magazine published monthly in the UK	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Q_(magazine)
Rape of Lucretia	Opera in two acts composed by Benjamin Britten in 1946.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Riley, Mark	Radio DJ on BBC 6Music based in Manchester. Formerly played with Manchester bands.	http://www.myspace.com/markriley
Romeo and Juliet	Opera in 5 acts by Gounod based on the tragedy by William Shakespeare	http://www.musicwithease.com/gounod-romeo-juliet-2.html
Schubert, Franz Peter	1797-1828. Viennese composer, especially of <i>Lieder</i> .	www.oxfordmusiconline.com

Music reference used in thesis	Definition	Source of definition
Schumann, Robert	1810-1856, German composer and music critic.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Scroobius Pip	Essex-based hip-hop, jazz, a'cappella artist. Often works with Dan Le Sac.	http://www.myspace.com/scroobiuspip
Seasick Steve	1945- US-born blues singer who plays a 3-string guitar and a 1 string guitar	http://www.nme.com/artists/seasick-steve
Shoegaze music	UK subgenre of alternative rock which reached its critical zenith in 1990 and 1991. Musicians maintained a motionless stance on stage staring at their their effects pedals or the floor.	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shoegazing
Side	Traditional term for a team or group of Morris or Molly dancers	
Simone, Nina	1933-2003 American soul and African roots singer, pianist and composer.	http://www.ninasimone.com/
South by SouthWest	Annual conference, festival and trade show for music industry professionals held in Austin, Texas, US.	http://sxsw.com/
Steeleye Span	British electric folk band formed in 1969 and still active today.	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Steeleye_Span
Strauss, Richard	1864-1949. German composer and conductor.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Take That	First UK 'Boyband' first formed in Manchester in 1990 and split up in 1996. Reformed in 2005 without former band member Robbie Williams.	http://www.takethat.com/the-band/
The Beatles	Vocal and instrumental British pop group who achieved worldwide fame and critical acclaim in the 1960s	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
The Big Chill	Multimedia festival, bar, club, and record label founded in 1994. Festival held annually in Eastnor, Herefordshire.	http://www.bigchill.net/festival/info/about-us

Music reference used in thesis	Definition	Source of definition
The Blueskins	Fourpiece band, now defunct, based in West Yorkshire formed in 1999.	http://www.theblueskins.com/
The Editors	British indie rock band based in Birmingham formed in 2002.	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/E ditors
The Magic Flute	Opera in 2 acts composed by W.A. Mozart in 1790-91.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
The Who	English rock group formed in 1964 in London. Disbanded in 1983.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Third Programme	National arts-oriented radio network broadcast by the BBC from 1946. Incorporated into BBC Radio 3 in 1970.	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/BC_Third_Programme
Thrash metal	Term often used in the 1980s to signal a faster, more distorted form of heavy metal from the more melodic and popular styles	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Torelli, Giuseppi	1658-1709 Italian composer	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
Van Eyken, Tim	English composer, folk singer and musician playing melodeon and guitar	http://www.timvaneyken.co.u k/
Verdi, Giuseppi	1813-1901 Italian composer and musical dramatist.	www.oxfordmusiconline.com
What HiFi? Sound and Vision	Magazine and website. Independent guide to buying and owning home entertainment products.	http://whathifi.com/about- WhatHiFi/
Wimborne Folk Festival	Festival of traditional English and Celtic music and dance held annually in June in Wimborne, Dorset	http://www.wimbornefolkfest ival.co.uk/
Winehouse, Amy	1983- English singer and songwriter performing a mix of soul, jazz, rock and R&B.	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Amy_Winehouse

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Appendix 1: Fieldwork equipment**For the festival-based fieldwork**

- Field diary to record activities of researcher, impressions, procedures carried out, ideas, locations, interview experiences, etc.
- Camera and camcorder to capture images of festival environment and audience members (from a distance or from the back due to personal privacy issues). There was very little opportunity to use a camcorder due to the restrictions of the festival environments.
- Pre-printed screening questionnaires with information sheet on reverse. (Appendices 2 and 6)
- Open University badge and business card to aid credibility and build trust.
- Proof of permission from festival organizer to show security staff if necessary.

For the full interviews

- Digital voice recorder.
- Informed consent form (Appendix 4).
- Interview schedule (Appendix 12).
- Information sheet (Appendix 2).

Appendix 2: Information sheet for potential participants (FolkFest and PopFest)

[On OU headed paper with screening questions on reverse]

The Open University Festivals Research Project

Dear Festival Guest

Thank you for your interest in this research project. We are interviewing people who have attended the ***** Festival this year. We would be interested in talking to you to find out what you enjoyed about the festival and why you decided to attend. What you tell us may contribute to policy development and could be of use to the festival organisers.

This research project is being led by Linda Wilks. She is being assisted by four senior members of the Open University's staff, including Research Director, Dr. Geoff Mallory. The ***** Festival organisers have given permission for the research to be carried out. Strict standards are being maintained throughout the project and any personal details you provide will be stored securely and not passed on to anyone not connected with the project. You will not be identified by your name in any report.

A copy of the preliminary set of questions is provided on the reverse of this letter. If you subsequently decide you would prefer us to destroy any of your details, please inform us and we will immediately comply with your request.

If you would like to know more about this research, Linda Wilks or Dr Geoff Mallory can be contacted at The Open University Business School at the above address.

Yours sincerely

Appendix 3: Screening questionnaire letter for OperaFest

[OU headed paper]

The organisers of the ***** Festival have kindly agreed to forward this invitation to you.

We are looking for several people who would be willing to talk to us in connection with an Open University research study. This study is looking at cultural tastes within the context of festivals. We would be interested to hear about what you enjoyed at the ***** Festival and why you decided to attend, as well as about your cultural tastes in general.

The interview would be quite informal, would last about an hour, and could be either in your home or at another location convenient to you. Alternatively, we could interview you by telephone.

The Open University's research operates under strict ethical guidelines and your personal details would be kept safe from anyone not connected with the research. Your interview responses would be anonymised and only used in connection with the project. The anonymised results could also be of use to the festival organisers.

We have asked ***** Festival to identify a small number of people for us to approach and would be grateful if you would answer the few questions on the enclosed questionnaire sheet. These answers will enable us to select a sample of festival guests appropriate to our study. Please send it to us in the reply paid envelope by Friday 6th July and we will contact you shortly to make further arrangements.

Appendix 4: Informed consent form**FESTIVALS RESEARCH****INFORMED CONSENT FORM**

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research. This form explains your rights as an interviewee.

If you have any queries about the project I can be contacted at The Open University Business School at the above address. If you would like to speak to a senior member of staff, Dr. Geoff Mallory is the Director of Research Programmes at the Business School and his direct line is: 01908 655848.

Your rights as an interviewee:

- 1) Your participation is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the research at any time.
- 2) You are free to refuse to answer any questions
- 3) Information obtained about you during the interview will be kept anonymous.
- 4) Excerpts from the interview may be made part of the final report, but your name will not be included in the report.
- 5) I will not pass your name or contact details on to any third party and will keep your data safe from others not directly connected with the project.
- 6) I would like to audio-record the interview. Please indicate your approval or disapproval below:

I agree / disagree to the use of audio-recording during the interview. *(Please delete as appropriate.)*

I have read and understand my rights and consent to participate in the project.

Signature _____

Name _____

Date _____

Appendix 5: Risk Analysis

Risk	Level	Minimisation strategy
Festival organisers deny access	Low	Keep in touch with agreed festivals and send information about research strategy on headed paper.
Festival attendees refuse to talk to interviewer	Medium	Keep interviews informal and short; dress appropriately to the event; smile; avoid looking too 'official'; wear Open University badge; be open about why they're being spoken to but keep language about the project simple.
Personal safety at the events	Low	Obtained ethical approval from OU committee which gives insurance cover; stay alert; don't push for answers if the attendees aren't keen; avoid approaching people who look (very) menacing; be aware of where to go for help and support at an event; leave location details with family and supervisors; carry valuables if camping or lock away if hotel.
Events cancelled or curtailed due to bad weather	Medium	Have back-up locations in mind; attend events over several days; attend some indoor events
Event attendees object to being observed or photographed	Low	Be discreet in writing up observations; take only broad view photographs ideally with only back views of people close by; ask permission if close-ups wanted.

Observations stereotype attendees leading to biased results	Low	Be vigilant and reflexive; back up with interviews; choose a wide variety of people for screening.
Researcher only approaches 'nice' middle-aged people	Medium	Design a criteria-related list to encourage targeting of all age groups, group sizes, ethnicities, styles
Researcher does all observations from one location (eg right in front of the stage) and biases output	Low	Do observations from a variety of locations within the festival site
Researcher illness	Low	Look after health; identify back-up festivals.

Appendix 6: Screening questionnaire (FolkFest / PopFest) [verbal]

1. How many days will you be spending at the festival?

1 **2** **3** **4**

2. Have you been to this festival before? **Yes** (*how many times?*) **No**

3. Why did you decide to come (*are you performing*)?

4. Have you come far? / Where do you live?

5. (*if not local*) Are you staying in the town?

Yes (specify where below) **No**

Camping Hotel / Guest house / B&B Other (*specify*)

6. Could I ask which of these age ranges you fall into?

Under 20 20-29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60-69 70+

7. What is (/was) your occupation?

8. What is your highest level of educational qualifications?

GCSE= A level= Degree= Postgrad= Occup= Other

9. Do you have children living with you?

Yes (*How old are they?*) **No**

10. Would you like to take part in the next stage of the research? (*explain*)

No (thank you for your help, check consent – contacts not needed)

Yes (take contact details)

When would be best: am pm evening weekend

Where would be best? by phone home other (suggestion?)

Name
Telephone number
Email / Address
I agree to the Open University storing a printed and electronic record of my personal details and understand that the Project Team will comply with the Data Protection Act 1998 and will keep the details safe from anyone not connected with the project <input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix 7: Screening questionnaire (OperaFest) [postal]

Please circle the appropriate answer or write in the space provided.

1. How many days or part-days will you be spending at the festival? _ _ _ _
2. On what date is the last performance you plan to attend? _ _ _ _ _
3. Have you been to **** Festival before?
 Yes (how many times? _ _ _ _ _) **No**
4. Why did you decide to come to the Festival this year?
5. Whereabouts do you live? _ _ _ _ _
6. Will you be staying in **** during the festival? **Yes** **No**
7. Into which of these age ranges do you fall?
 Under 20 20-29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60-69 70+
8. What is (or was, if you are not currently working) your occupation?
9. What is your highest equivalent level of educational qualifications?
 GCSE A level Degree Postgrad Other _ _ _ _ _
10. Do you have children aged under-17 living with you? **Yes** **No**

If you would be willing to take part in a further one hour interview to explore your views on **** Festival and your cultural tastes please provide your contact details. We will contact you shortly to make further arrangements.

Name
Telephone number
Email
<p><i>I agree to the Open University storing a printed and electronic record of my personal details and understand that the Project Team will comply with the Data Protection Act 1998 and will keep the details safe from anyone not connected with the project.</i></p> <p>(please tick) <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Please return to: Linda Wilks, Researcher, OU Business School, The Open University, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes, MK7 6AA in the reply-paid envelope provided, before Friday 6th July.</p>

Appendix 8: Screening interview introduction for FolkFest and PopFest

1. Would you have time to talk to me about the festival for some Open University research I'm doing? It won't take long.
2. I'm looking for people who will be spending 3 [or 4] days at the festival. I need people to answer a few questions now about what they think about the festival and why they decided to come.
3. I'd like to find people with a range of ages, occupation types, family stages and so on. So would you mind if I ask you a few questions now and perhaps also take your contact details so I could contact you after the festival?

Fill in the screening questionnaire for them if they agree.

After the screening questionnaire has been filled in:

4. I'll only have time to interview a few people after the festival but will let you know either way.
5. I won't be passing on your details to anyone not connected with the project. The festival organisers will get a summary but no personal details.

Give them an information sheet.

That's great, thanks – I'll be in touch in the next few weeks.

Enjoy the festival.

Appendix 9: Demographic characteristics of interviewed participants

Festival	Name	Gender	Age	Current occupation	NS-NEC* occup cat.	Highest level of academic qualification	Children under 16 at home
OperaFest	Barry	M	70-79	Retired cartographer	2	Occup/GCSE =	No
OperaFest	Christine	F	50-59	Compliance manager	2	Postgrad	No
OperaFest	Clive	M	60-69	Retired archivist	1	Postgrad	No
OperaFest	Geoff	M	50-59	Investment manager	1	Degree	No
OperaFest	Janice	F	50-59	Personal assistant	3	A level=	No
OperaFest	Jill	F	60-69	Geophysicist	1	Degree	No
OperaFest	Keith	M	70-79	Retired lecturer	1	Postgrad	No
OperaFest	Lydia	F	70-79	Retired lecturer	1	Degree	No
OperaFest	Maureen	F	60-69	Retired midwife	2	Degree	No
OperaFest	Roy	M	60-69	Retired teacher	1	Degree	No
OperaFest	Sylvia	F	50-59	Book-keeper etc for husband's business	3	A level=	No
FolkFest	Alice	F	20-29	Student	N/C	Degree	No
FolkFest	Anthony	M	40-49	Self-employed property developer	4	Degree	No
FolkFest	Callum	M	20-29	Self-employed property developer	4	GCSE=	No
FolkFest	David	M	50-59	Electronics engineer	1	A level=	No
FolkFest	Ellie	F	20-29	Quality control administrator	7	A level=	No
FolkFest	Holly	F	18-19	Student	N/C	GCSE=	No
FolkFest	James	M	50-59	Engineering manager	1	Postgrad	No
FolkFest	Kath	F	40-49	Personal assistant	3	GCSE=	No
FolkFest	Matt	M	30-39	Landscape architect, own business	4	Postgrad	No
FolkFest	Meg	F	60-69	HE Lecturer	1	Degree	No
FolkFest	Sophie	F	30-39	Events organiser for HE	2	Degree	No
PopFest	Alan	M	40-49	Company MD	1	Postgrad	Yes
PopFest	Ben	M	20-29	Catering assistant	7	A level=	No
PopFest	Charlotte	F	20-29	Trainee lawyer	1	Postgrad	No
PopFest	Colin	F	30-39	Occupational therapy assistant	3	GCSE=	Yes
PopFest	Daniel	M	30-39	Copywriter	2	Degree	No
PopFest	Hannah	F	20-29	Research scientist	1	Postgrad	No

[illegible]

Appendix 10: Observation schedule

Festival:

Venue:

Date/Time:

Event:

General impressions (signs, symbols, artefacts, layout, circulation norms, security, atmosphere):

Social networking in evidence, eg size of groups, cross-group interaction, etc:

Choose a row of people to analyse by the criteria below:

	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Dress	Actions	Other
P 1						
P 2						
P3						
P4						
P5						
P6						
P7						
P8						
P9						
P10						


Appendix 11: Home locations of interviewees



Map courtesy of 'Cities I've Visited' on Facebook. <http://www.facebook.com/>

Compiled October 2008

Please note: some locations house two interviewees, each from a different festival.

KEY  = Interview locations (please note that the interview locations do not necessarily coincide with the town names on the map).

Appendix 12: Full interview schedule**Thanks and consent form**

Thank you for agreeing to do this interview. It should take around an hour.

Can I just check you were happy with the rights which were explained on the informed consent form? Do you have any more questions about them?

Are you happy for me to record the interview?

Introduction

So we're going to be exploring your attendance at the Festival. I'm going to be asking you about why you went and what you did there, as well as some background questions about yourself and your tastes and experiences of the music and the arts in general. Is that OK?

Section 1: The Festival and its events

- 1) Looking back, what did you like about the Festival?
- 2) Was there anything you didn't like about the Festival? Why was that?
- 3) Have you been to this Festival before? How many times / when? Would you go again?
- 4) Which specific Festival events did you attend? Could you tell me a bit about them?
- 5) Which was your favourite event? Why was that?
- 6) Which was your least favourite event? Why was that?
- 7) How did you choose which events to go to?
- 8) Did any of these events include a type of music or arts you hadn't listened to or experienced before?
 - a) [If yes] Which ones were they?
 - b) What prompted you to try it out?

Section 2: Reasons for attending

- 9) Why did you decide to go to the Festival?
- 10) Did you buy your tickets in advance? How easy was it to get hold of tickets?
- 11) How did the admission charges influence your decision to attend?
- 12) How did the location influence your decision to go to the festival
e.g. distance from your home; scenery, sightseeing; the venue itself?
- 13) What did you think of the venue/s?
- 14) Did you go to the festival with anyone? Could you tell me a bit more about them – was it friends or family, how do you know your friends (work, neighbours, etc)?
- 15) Did you meet people there you knew already? Could you tell me a bit about who they were and how you met them.
- 16) Did you speak to any people there that you didn't know before? How did that come about? What sort of people were they?
- 17) [If yes] Did any of these new people become friends i.e. have you seen them again after the festival?]. [If no] why do you think you didn't keep in touch?
- 18) Did you talk about the festival and the events you'd been to with anyone afterwards back at home or work? [If yes: what sort of things did you say about it? Why? How did you feel when you were telling people about the festival?]

Section 3: Norms

- 19) Thinking back to the festival, did you consciously dress in a particular style to attend? Could you describe your personal style – eg how you dress / do your hair / behave and so on, perhaps how you hope that people might see you?
- 20) So do you think your festival style was any different to your normal day-to-day style? [If yes]: how was it different and why do you think it was different?

21) Thinking about the festival again, what sort of people seemed to you to be at the festival?

22) Did you feel they were similar to you in their outlooks, values and so on?

23) Did you feel comfortable there?

Section 4: Taste

24) Could you tell me a bit about your experiences of music, art, theatre and so on as you were growing up? [eg at home; at school] Eg did you play a musical instrument / was music played at home / did you get taken to any shows / etc?

25) Did you listen to the type of music that was being played at the festival as you were growing up?

26) How have your tastes changed or developed as you've got older? Was there any catalyst for any of the changes? Has anyone had a major influence on your musical or artistic tastes?

27) Have you attended any other music events recently which were the same type of music as this festival? Could you tell me a bit about them.

28) Have you attended any other music or other arts events recently? [theatre, art galleries, films, music concerts – esp ones similar to genre of festival]

29) Could you tell me a bit about one you particularly enjoyed?

30) Are there any types of music or other arts events which you definitely wouldn't go to?

31) Do you listen to recorded music at home or while you're travelling? What sort of things have you been listening to during the last couple of months? Is there any type of music which you could say you really dislike?

32) Have you listened to any of the new artists you heard at the festival or anything similar since you came home?

33) Do you read books for pleasure? What sort of books do you prefer? What was the last one you read? What kind of books do you really dislike?

34) What sort of TV programmes do you like best? What sort do you really dislike?

35) Do you have any pieces of art on display at home? What are they like? What would you like to have if money were no object? Is there any sort of art which you don't really like?

Section 5: Personal details for background – checking as already covered in the questionnaire

36) What is/was your occupation? Could you tell me a bit more about what you do/did on a day to day basis? How long have you been doing that? What did you do before that?

37) What is your highest level of educational qualifications?

38) Could I ask whether you're in your 20s, 30s, 40s etc?

39) How would you describe your ethnic origins?

40) How would you categorise your social class, if you had to?

41) Do you have any children living at home? How old are they?

Conclusion

Well we've come to the end of my questions. Is there anything you'd like to add?

Thank you

So I'd just like to say thank you for your help. It's been really interesting and useful.

Appendix 13: Coding nodes

Name of code	Number of participants mentioning	Number of mentions	Number of words
BUILDING CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE	5	6	1,391
cds etc	7	12	1,335
festivals for knowledge	1	1	114
internet	9	15	1,182
live performance	6	10	712
mags-books-newspapers	15	26	2,922
radio	12	18	1,384
TV	3	4	164
word of mouth	11	14	989
TOTAL: BUILDING CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE	69	106	10,193
CULTURAL CONSUMPTION	1	1	75
cultural hierarchies	8	31	3,225
musical range	26	66	9,720
new music etc afterwards	21	27	3,009
non-festival dancing	4	4	662
non-festival music	33	123	21,562
TOTAL: CULTURAL CONSUMPTION	93	252	38,253
FESTIVALS	32	75	8,063
deciding what to do	33	103	13,592
experimentation or not	31	74	8,465
quality levels	12	16	1,627
security -safety	13	19	1,622
ticket prices	30	59	5,603
weather + conditions	17	23	1,974
TOTAL: FESTIVAL	168	369	40,946
HABITUS: EARLY YEARS	5	9	1,215
friends + extended family	3	4	488
home - family	29	70	10,398
school	13	19	1,900
TOTAL: HABITUS: EARLY YEARS	50	102	14,001
HABITUS: YOUTH YEARS	20	32	4,651
friends	12	20	3,287
home - family - ext family	10	15	1,871
school-uni	13	25	3,043
TOTAL: HABITUS: YOUTH YEARS	55	92	12,852

Name of code	Number of participants	Number of mentions	Number of words
HABITUS: ADULT YEARS	20	36	4,636
friends	5	6	1,291
other	2	2	216
TOTAL: HABITUS: ADULT YEARS	27	44	6,143
TOTAL: HABITUS ALL YEARS	132	238	32,996
FESTIVAL LIKES/DISLIKES	5	5	263
atmosphere likes	5	8	183
dislikes at festival	32	63	6,120
music - dance - likes	32	72	9,634
TOTAL LIKES & DISLIKES	74	148	16,200
LIMINALITY	6	6	538
different afterwards	8	10	1,319
holiday	15	21	1,583
relaxation	17	19	2,739
TOTAL: LIMINALITY	46	56	6,179
SOCIAL CAPITAL	0	0	0
after-talk	31	50	8,966
civic participation	13	26	4,057
culture as status	3	3	661
influence of others	13	22	2,623
influence on others	8	12	1,293
personal image	33	70	18,115
views on others	33	106	21,448
TOTAL: SOCIAL CAPITAL	134	289	57,163
SOCIAL NETWORKS	22	59	7,277
e-networks	3	3	220
family ties	15	22	2,281
joining in	4	6	1,268
meeting known people	24	42	5,325
meeting new people	30	51	5,864
performer interactions	13	24	2,903
performing/working there	8	26	3,704
who went with	29	50	5,435
workers role	2	6	661
TOTAL: SOCIAL NETWORKS	150	289	34,938
KEY	densely populated node		

Appendix 14: Summary table of orders of discourse features

	FolkFest	OperaFest	PopFest
The initiation order of discourse			
early initiation			
styles (age)			
	singer (7)	classical music lover (5)	musician (5, 8)
	folk fan (8)	opera goer (11)	
social actors			
	parents	uncle	parents
	father	teacher	
events			
	singing competition	music in school assembly	starting to learn piano
	listening to new radio programme	visit to open air opera	starting to learn flute
non-discursive elements			
	radio	open-air park	flute
		school	piano
			recorder
missed early initiation			
styles		non-opera singer	non-musician
social actors		teacher	parents
events		failed audition	gave up piano
youth initiation			
styles (age)			
	folk fan (18)	lead of family opera visit (18)	chart fan (15)
	self-directed traditionalist (13)	school pupil (17)	indie fan (18)
			avant-garde fan (20)
			self-taught guitarist (18)
social actors			
	friends	brother	friends
		teacher	boyfriend
		father	Housemate

	FolkFest	OperaFest	PopFest
events			
	listening to radio (13)	attending an opera (18)	moving into a university house
	going to a concert	listening to an opera on the radio (17)	
non-discursive elements			
	Steeleye Span	The Magic Flute	music charts
	beer mug	Verona, Italy	The Blueskins
	charts	Rape of Lucretia	guitar
	acoustic guitars	Benjamin Britten	Britpop years
	10,000 Maniacs	radio	Student Union
	Fairground Attraction	sitting room	university
	Kirsty McColl		
maturity initiation			
styles (age)			
	folk festival fan (c30)	opera fan (30)	
	folk dancer (c28)	musician (38)	
		student (50)	
social actors			
	friend	husband	
	boyfriend	music teacher	
events			
	folk festival visit	went to a live opera	
	joined dance side		
non-discursive elements			
	beard	I Lombardi	
	beer	Verdi	
	Wimborne Festival	Marriage of Figaro	
	Morris side	[Town] Opera Players	
	Molly side	OU music course	
		choir	
		recorder	
		bassoon	

	FolkFest	OperaFest	PopFest
The cognoscenti order of discourse			
festivals expertise/ignorance discourse			
styles			
	steward	opera festival expert	dance music fan
	festival chairman		festival expert
			Glastonbury veteran
expertise			
	FolkFest content	local festival content	dance music
		OperaFest content	hip-hop
			other festivals
ignorance			
	Glastonbury		folk music/performers
	pop festivals		
non-discursive elements			
	traditional English folk music	local town festival	The Big Chill
			Glade
			Glastonbury
			festival loos
			festival food
			weather
			festival crowds
			Eliza Carthy
performer expertise/ignorance discourse			
styles			
	folk music expert	opera expert	pop expert
	folk dancer	conservative in music choice	music industry insider
			musician
			dance music expert
non-discursive elements			
	Hilary Herbert	Georg Benda	South by SouthWest Music Industry Convention

	FolkFest	OperaFest	PopFest
	Playford Style	Romeo and Juliet	Amy Winehouse
	Geoff Cubbit	Mozart	Arctic Monkeys
	American Squares	Mannheim	DJ Yoda
	Rhodri Davies	Anna Leese	Seasick Steve
	American Contras	Ian Page	Koop
	Tim Van Eyken	English National Opera	Elbow
	French folk dancers	Donizetti	
		Ofenbach	
		Bluebeard	
		Gilbert & Sullivan	
		Torelli	
		Corelli	
		Leider	
		Pavel Haas Quartet	
		David Greer	
		Opera North Orchestra	
		English Chamber Orchestra	
		English National Orchestra	
support materials discourse			
styles			
		opera insider	veteran record collector
			contemporary record collector
			indie fan
			discerning music consumer
			pop music expert
non-discursive elements			
	Music amplifier	orchestral music	independent record shop
	cd	Robin Blaze	vinyl
		Early Music	Status Quo
		carousel (in car)	music system
		piano music	cds

	FolkFest	OperaFest	PopFest
		Kobbe	speakers
		Grove	digital radio
non-discursive elements (cont)			
		Opera	ipod
		Music (magazine)	downloads
		The Bible	MP3s
		internet	headphones
		library	drums
		Marriage of Figaro	music room
		sur-titles	Centenary Wurlitzer juke box
		BBC Radio 3 (radio station playing mainly classical music)	Wurlitzer 2000 jukebox
		The Third Programme	What HiFi
			The Editors
			NME
			BBC 6Music
			Mark Riley
The connection/detachment order of discourse			
persistent connection discourse			
styles			
	sociable	social lynch-pin	family man
	popular	insider	friendly
	welcoming		
social actors			
	pocket group of friends	friends from other towns	friends from the local village
	little circle of friends	people arranged to meet	wife
	massive circle of friends		son
	group of friends		children of son's age
	friend of a friend		
	performers		
	musicians		
	Morris dancers		

	FolkFest	OperaFest	PopFest
non-discursive elements			
	breakfast	seats	tennis
	phone calls	lunch	
	pub		
	beer		
	beards		
temporary connection discourse			
styles			
		friendly where necessary within limits	restraint
social actors			
		husband	people happen to be sitting next to
		people sat next to	people camping next to
		couple from same B&B	
non-discursive elements			
		B&B	Tent
detached discourse			
styles			
	uninterested in festival events	solitary	adventurous (compared to rest who are conservative)
		private	
social actors			
	host couple	wife	
	husband	husband	
non-discursive elements			
	pub		